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CRITICISMS AND REPLY

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CRITICISMS AND ELUCIDATIONS

OF

CATULLUS

BY

H. A. J. MUNRO

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INTRODUCTION

Catullus, after two centuries of comparative neglect, has of late received from scholars his due share of attention. Even within the last year and half, or two years, have appeared the important critical edition of Aemilius Baehrens and the long and elaborate exegetical commentary of Robinson Ellis. Not to go more than fifteen years back, we have had within that time, in addition to the works just mentioned, first the learned and painstaking 'Quaestiones' of Schwabe, which throw such a flood of light on the history of Catullus and of his friends and enemies; next Schwabe's critical edition of the text, followed successively by Ellis' and Lucian Mueller's; and, beside all these works, two excellent translations into English verse.

Although the field may be thought to be already sufficiently preoccupied, I flatter myself that this little book will not prove altogether useless either for the criticism or for the elucidation of our poet. For the manuscript material I am wholly indebted to the successive labours of Schwabe, Ellis and Baehrens. It behoves me therefore to be modest when dealing with that for which I am altogether dependent upon the diligence of others. With respect however to the general principles, from which Catullian criticism has to start, there is no room for doubt or hesitation. All critics are now agreed—even Ellis I believe, tho' some of his

reasonings are not easy to reconcile with such an assumption—that, except in the case of one poem, the 62nd, the whole of our manuscript material is derived from one single codex, which reappeared at Verona in the beginning of the 14th century and was afterwards lost to the world once more. The two main and independent representatives of this lost original are the Paris codex Germanensis, copied from that original in 1375, and the Oxford codex, which appears to have been written about the same time. Following Ellis and Baehrens, who have alone collated O, I call the one G, the other O; and after the example of all the editors I designate by V the reading of the lost original, when that reading can be satisfactorily made out. Resting on the seemingly complete collation of these two Mss. given by Baehrens, I follow him in looking to them almost alone in order to determine what V was.

Diffidence being as I have said incumbent on me, where I am reaping the fruits of others' industry, I shall not attempt to decide whether G or O is on the whole the better manuscript. There are very many passages in which O, and O alone, gives the undoubted words of the poet: often on the other hand it is very corrupt, where G is right or less wrong. Nor shall I pronounce upon the question whether, beside these two, all other existing manuscripts are derived directly or indirectly from G, Baehrens strenuously maintaining that they are, Ellis as strenuously denying it. But of this I feel no doubt whatever, that if G and O come directly from the original codex—and this Ellis does not seem to call in question—then he very greatly overrates the value of the Datanus, which was not written till 1463. I have much difficulty in catching the drift of the argument about this codex in his first

volume, an argument which is partially reproduced in his commentary. But G and O proclaim with a loud voice that the strange and uncouth phenomena of the Datanus are figments and interpolations. It is vain to appeal to the authority of Lachmann who was ignorant of G and O alike. Nor is it easy quite to grasp the principle from which Ellis starts, when in his commentary on *meae* in 167 34 he writes: 'The valuable Brit. Mus. Ms. *a* has *uice* for *meae*; possibly Catullus wrote: *Brixia Veronae mater amata uicem*'. When G and O, and apparently every other Ms., have *mee*, how can we conceive that this was not the reading of V? how can *a*, written as Ellis tells us elsewhere in 1460, have got this *uice* directly or indirectly from V? how can it be anything but a stupid interpolation, designed or undesigned? Again in 64 249 O has 'Que tñ prospectans'; G has 'tamen' in full, and had originally 'prospectans'; but the *pr* is erased and *o* changed to *a*; later Mss. follow this correction and read 'tamen aspectans'. All the old editions which I have examined before Lachmann's have 'Quae tum prospectans', and so have the recent editions of Schwabe and Baehrens. Ellis in the Academy (Aug. 19, 1876) writes: 'Are we then to conclude with M. Baehrens that the right reading is 'Quae tum prospectans'? Is there any critic who could hesitate to prefer 'Quae tamen aspectans'? When we now learn from O that V had 'Que tñ prospectans', I should have been disposed rather to say 'Is there any critic who could hesitate to prefer 'Quae tum prospectans'? This is merely putting *tū* for *tñ*, a *u* for an *n*, no two words being oftener confused than *tum* and *tamen* in consequence of their abbreviations being so very similar.

Certainly what strikes me as one of the weaknesses of Ellis' commentary, as of his first volume, is the diffi-

culty he seems to find in taking up the right position and point of view in controverting opinions which differ from his own: he will attack for instance the conclusions of others by arguing against them from his own premisses, instead of shewing either that the premisses are wrong on which those conclusions are grounded, or that the conclusions do not follow from those premisses. The 54th poem, of seven lines, he severs into three different fragments, and assumes a lacuna of 5 lines between the first and second of these, and a lacuna of one line between the second and third. I have now reprinted a short article, written a few years ago for the Journal of Philology, in which I try to shew that this poem as it stands in the Mss. forms a perfect and satisfactory whole. Ellis in his commentary, while he speaks of me in terms for which I feel most grateful, tho' ashamed, controverts my views and adheres to his own. I on the other hand have appended to my article some remarks, tending as I think to strengthen my own argument and to invalidate his. Which of the two has most reason or probability on his side, it is of course for others to determine. But what I would speak of now is the method of his reasoning. He draws up four formal arguments, headed 1, 2, 3, 4, to prove me to be wrong and the poem to be fragmentary, all of which I have touched on elsewhere. But I will here take the 4th for a specimen: '(4) Nothing is gained by interpreting the poem as a complete whole. Everything shows that the Ms. of Catullus from which all extant Mss. spring was imperfect. Why should we deny here', and so on. Can he not see that this is no argument at all, but a mere assertion that he is right and I am wrong? If the poem is a complete whole, then surely something is gained by interpreting it as a complete

whole. If it is a heap of fragments, then of course nothing is gained by so doing, but on the contrary the labour is thrown away. Let others judge between us; but such a mere assertion has no more force of demonstration than if one of two litigants were to asseverate in court that he is right and his adversary wrong. Then as to what he says here of the imperfection of our Mss., the whole of my book will prove that I quite go along with him; tho' the *onus probandi* presses heavily on him, who maintains that they have thus tossed together into one apparent whole a congeries of incoherent fragments. But Ellis can take on occasion quite a different view of our Mss. After 64 23, a passage which I have discussed in its place, the Veronese scholia of Virgil give us the commencement of a verse which has disappeared from the Mss. of Catullus, a verse which no modern editor, except Ellis, for a moment hesitates to assign to Catullus. But, says Ellis, 'the weight of the Veronese Scholia, imperfect and full of lacunae as they are, is not to be set against our Mss.' And yet he does not even attempt to shew that Mai and after him Keil have not rightly deciphered every letter of the words 'saluete deum gens, o bona matrum Progenies saluete iter...' And if they are right, how should there be any doubt of the genuineness of these words, when we cannot even conceive any motive for interpolation, and can so readily conceive the dropping out of a line in the Ms. from which all the others are derived?

Where I have attempted to correct the text of Catullus, I have tried to bear in mind the very pertinent remark of Schwabe that no successful or convincing emendations have been made in that text, which depart widely from the Ms. reading. Again and again I have had to call attention to the singular pertinacity

with which G or O, or both of them, interchange certain letters; most of all perhaps *e* and *o*; then *r*, *t* (*c*), *rt* and *tr*; *sc* and *s*; *n* and *r*; *n* and *u*; *f* and *s*; and final *m* and *s*. I have reprinted two or three longer and as many shorter articles which have appeared at intervals in the *Journal of Philology* during the last ten years. It was not possible to remodel them without confusing times and circumstances. I have appended to each of them remarks and criticisms, designed in some cases to confirm, in others to modify what I had said.

I have been a good deal surprised to see how often Schwabe, Ellis and Baehrens alike have retained the barbarous spellings of our Mss. which are of much too late a date to have any authority in questions of orthography. A good lesson on this head is read to us, if in the 62nd poem we compare with the other Mss. the Paris codex of the 9th century which contains that poem: it offers the correct spellings—*iucunda*, *iucundior*, *conubium*, *conubia*—; while the other Mss. have the corrupt spellings—*iocunda*, *iocundior*, *connubium*, *connubia*. Nay, in 100 4 ‘*sodalicium*’ of V, the only genuine form of the word, is changed to ‘*sodalitium*’ by Schwabe, by Baehrens, and by Ellis in his text, tho’ the last has corrected the mistake in his commentary. This will help to increase the uncertainty which already exists, especially in our country, where the minds of scholars appear to be so very unsettled with regard to Latin orthography; tho’ the spelling of classical Latin, if we only allow for that amount of variety which certain periods of transition admitted, is now fixed and known.

TRINITY COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE: *December* 1877.

p. 144: 64, 14 dele comma at end.

p. 181, l. 6 from end, for '105 and 106' read '145 and 146'.

in 144. at 14 below column of end.
in 141. 1. 8 from end. for 105 and 106. read 145 and 146.

Quoi dono lepidum nouum libellum
 arido modo pumice expolitum?
 Corneli, tibi: namque tu solebas
 meas esse aliquid putare nugas,
 5 iam tum cum ausus es unus Italorum
 omne aeuum tribus explicare cartis
 doctis, Iuppiter, et laboriosis.
 quare habe tibi quicquid hoc libelli,
 qualecumque quidem patronei ut ergo
 10 plus uno maneat perenne saeclo.

9 quidem *Itali*. quod V. patroni ut ergo *Bergk*. patrona uirgo V. Qua-
 lecumque; quod, o patrona uirgo *uulgo*.

I think it worth while to offer the following re-
 marks on this short and simple poem, even at the risk
 of what I say appearing to have in it little that is
 new and important. All recent Editors adopt in the
 last line but one what seems the simple and obvious
 correction of the Mss.: Qualecumque, quod o patrona
 uirgo. I would here observe in the first place that
 'quicquid hoc qualecumque' can hardly come together
 without a connecting particle: thus several of the

older Editors add *et* after *libelli*. So Tacitus ann. XIV 55 has 'quidquid illud et quaecumque tribuisset'. But this correction the rhythm of Catullus will not admit of. If the common reading therefore be right, surely we must join 'Quaecumque quod' (i.e. quod quaecumque), just as Martial has 'Hoc quaecumque' in VII 26 3, a poem which contains another imitation of Catullus.

But the 'patrona uirgo' offers more difficulty. Who is she? Minerva, some say. Impossible. The Muse, say others and with more reason. That in a certain sense the Muse may be called the patron of a poet, I would not deny, though the two authorities cited by Ellis, in which the poet is said conversely to be the client of the Muse or Muses, are neither of them of much weight. But why the strangely vague 'patrona uirgo' with nothing to point its meaning? Why could he not have written 'patrona Musa'? And if the Muse be the poet's patron, surely she is so in the sense of being his helper, his inspirer and mouthpiece. She dictates the verses and must see to it, that they be worthy of long life. Thus the spurious Sulpicia, quoted by Ellis, bids the Muse come down and help her client. A sorry volume, a 'quicquid hoc libelli', a 'quod quaecumque' would be her disgrace, as much as the poet's. It is a different patron that would have to nurse into fame such a production.

It is in such a sense as this that the poets always call on the Muses to dictate the words which they cannot find for themselves: αἰδε, θεά: ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα: Musa, uelim causas memores: Pandite nunc Helicon, deae, cantusque mouete. And so Catullus himself: Non possum reticere, deae, qua me

Allius in re Iuuerit.....Sed dicam uobis, uos porro dicite multis Milibus, and so on. Catullus tells the Muses what he owes to Allius; they put what he tells them into verse that will last for ages.

The corrections I have adopted in v. 9 are not so violent as they may at first sight seem to be: *quod*, *quid*, and the like appear in the Mss. of Catullus in abbreviated forms often so difficult to distinguish, that I am not sure that the old 15th century correction *quidem* is so much more improbable than the *quod o* of Palladius. Then as to Bergk's *patronei ut ergo*, which ever since I knew it has always struck me as most plausible, it is clear that in the lost archetype *a* must have greatly resembled *ei*: thus in 7 9 V had *basiei* for *basia*, and in 65 14 O gives *asumpta* for *absumptei*.

Surely we thus get a much apter conclusion. A poem so short as this at all events should be consistent with itself: *seruetur ad imum Qualis ab incepto processerit, et sibi constet*. My little book I give to you, Cornelius, who once before deigned to commend my trifles. Take it then, poor as it is, that for its patron's sake it may last some ages. The tone of self-depreciation is thus entirely in place, while it would hardly be in good taste if addressed to the Muse who would have at least to share the blame with the poet. Again, when Nepos has been the sole theme of the first eight verses and has been addressed throughout in the second person, to turn so abruptly in the last two lines to the Muse, if Muse it be, or to Minerva as others would have it, strikes me as a violation of all art and good taste.

And, if I am not mistaken, I can bring forward some external testimony to support what I have said. It is natural that the introductory poem of so popular

a poet as Catullus should be much quoted and imitated. For my present purpose however I confine myself chiefly to Martial, one of the most ardent admirers of our poet. If I should appear needlessly diffuse, let my readers understand that there is a meaning in my tediousness. Imitations of, or allusions to, one or other of the first four verses occur in the following passages of Martial: we find 'lepidos libellos' in XI 20 9, and in VIII 3 19, where the right reading surely is 'Romano lepidos sale tinge libellos': I 113 6 Per quem perire non licet meis nugis; II 1 6 Nec tantum nugis seruiet ille meis; IV 10 1 Dum nouus est, rasa nec adhuc mihi fronte libellus...I, puer, et caro perfer leue munus amico Qui meruit nugas primus habere meas; 82 1 Hos quoque commenda Venuleio, Rufe, libellos... Non tetrica nugas exigit aure meas; V 80 3 Dum nostras legis exigisque nugas; VI 1 1 Sextus mittitur hic tibi libellus; VII 26 7 Quanto mearum scis amore nugarum Flagret: in v. 3 there is an imitation of v. 9 in Catullus: VIII 72 1 Nondum murice cultus asperoque Morsu pumicis aridi politus...libelle; XII, in prose preface, 'de nugis nostris iudices'; XIII 2 4 Non potes in nugas dicere plura meas.

As vss. 5, 6 and 7 of Catullus' poem refer merely to a particular work of Nepos, we cannot look for any allusions to them. To come to the last three vss., v. 8, as Ellis has shewn, is clearly imitated by Censorinus I Quodcumque hoc libri est meis opibus comparatum natalicii titulo tibi misi. Baehrens' reading appears to be confuted by this, as well as by the fact that 'qualecumque' seems never to be joined with a genitive, as 'quidquid' and 'quodcumque' are. If it be said that Censorinus wrote in the third century and that Catullus was interpolated before this time, I would appeal

to Martial III 1 1 Hoc tibi quidquid id est longinquis mittit ab oris Gallia, which, coming as it does at the opening of a book, strikes me as a clear reference to this verse of Catullus.

For the last two vss. I would first of all compare Martial v 60 5 Qualiscumque legaris ut per orbem, the rhythm of which reminds me of v. 9 of Catullus as I have given it. Then look at Martial's prose dedication of VIII to Domitian: Omnes quidem libelli mei, domine, quibus tu famam, id est uitam dedisti, tibi supplicant, et puto propter hoc legentur. For, as our poem was so much in Martial's thoughts, the last words recall to my mind the 'patroni ut ergo cet.' Compare also the end of Statius' dedication of Siluae II: Haec qualiacumque sunt, Melior carissime, si tibi non displicuerint, a te publicum accipiant: sin minus, ad me reuertantur. For here too I catch an allusion to the end of our poem as I have given it. Domitian and Melior take the place of Nepos. Last of all look at Martial III 2, a short poem manifestly modelled on Catullus' poem. It thus commences: 'Cuius uis fieri, libelle, munus?' after Catullus' 'Cui dono lepidum nouum libellum?' Martial continues 'Festina tibi uindicem parare': then in v. 6 'Faustini fugis in sinum? sapisti'. The poem thus concludes 'Illo uindice nec Probum timeto', taking up v. 2 and 6 exactly as Catullus, if we are right, would take up v. 3 'Corneli tibi' with 'patroni ut ergo cet.', *uindex* too having much the same meaning as *patronus*. All these points when taken together appear to me not to be without significance.

[Reprinted from the Journal of Philology vol. 4 p. 241 242]

Passer, deliciae meae puellae,
 quicum ludere, quem in sinu tenere,
 quoi primum digitum dare adpetenti
 et acris solet incitare morsus,
 5 cum desiderio meo nitenti
 carum nescio quid libet iocari,
 et solaciolum sui doloris
 credo ut cum grauis acquiescet ardor :
 tecum ludere sicut ipsa possem
 10 et tristis animi leuare curas !

This delightful little poem would seem to have been written while the love of Catullus and Lesbia was yet according to the notions of the time comparatively innocent. All is clear except in vss. 7 and 8 which are manifestly corrupt. The latter has been altered in various ways: Credo ut tum (ut iam, uti) grauis acquiescat ardor. A change would seem to be required in v. 7 as well, and very old critics have suggested *in* or *ut* for *et*; *ad* too might be proposed. Lachmann indeed, followed by Haupt, Schwabe and others, keeps *et* and refers us to 38 7 Paulum quid lubet allocutionis. But in this he is quite mistaken: it may be seen from the very large number of instances collected by Neue (II pp. 485 486), that the best writers continually use *libere*, *licere* and *oportere* as personal verbs, but in a very peculiar way, with the neuters of pronouns such as *id*, *ea*, *ista*, *quid*, *quod*, *quae*, *quidquid*, and of cer-

tain kinds of adjectives, *omnia*, *quantum*, *multum*, *multa*; and so Catullus in 61 42 has *quae licent*, as well as *paulum quid lubet*, quoted above. But, as Neue observes, in the whole of classical Latinity these verbs never have a substantive for their subject; and *solaciolum libet* is quite solecistic. Ellis keeps *et* and reads in 8 Credo, *et cum grauis acquiescit*.

But though Editors alter three or at least two words, none of their readings appears to me to give a suitable sense: they seem all to take *dolor* and *grauis ardor* to be synonymous or nearly so, while I believe them to be used in decided opposition to each other: *dolor* denotes the grief and aching void which the heart feels in the absence of a loved object, which it desires to have with it: comp. Propert 1 20 32 A! *dolor ibat Hylas ibat Hamadryasin*: which is imitated by Ovid in Heroid. 13 104 Tu mihi luce *dolor*, tu mihi nocte uenis, by which Laodamia expresses her ever-present yearning for Protesilaus. Then see Catullus himself, 50 16, Hoc, iucunde, tibi poema feci, Ex quo perspiceres meum *dolorem*; by which he denotes his longing desire for the company of his friend Calvus, whose wit and conversation he so regretted that he could not sleep or rest. Whereas *grauis ardor* expresses that furious storm of passion which could not last long at one time without destroying its possessor, but which while it did last would put any other gratification, except that of the passion itself, out of the question. This *ardor* a Medea could feel in the presence of Iason: Et iam fortis erat, pulsusque recesserat *ardor*; Cum uidet Aesoniden, extinctaque flamma reuixit: Erubuere genae totoque recanduit ore (Ovid Metam. vii 76): Catullus too felt it himself often enough: Cum tantum arderem quantum Trinacria rupes Lymphaque

in Oetaeis Malia Thermopylis (68 53). As well attempt to quench a conflagration with a squirt, as allay the *gravis ardor*, the Aetna-like fire, of a Medea, a Lesbia, a Catullus by the antics of a bird. The *gravis ardor* must destroy itself for the time by its own intensity before the *dolor* remaining behind could find relief in playing with a sparrow. I feel convinced therefore that these two verses are to be transposed, transposition being one of the simplest remedies in the case of a text resting finally on a single manuscript; and that we are to read

credo ut, cum grauis acquiescet ardor,
sit solacium sui doloris :

‘when the bright lady of my longing love is minded to try some charming play, for a sweet solace of her heart-ache, I trow, whenever the fierce storm of passion shall be laid’.

‘Cum acquiescet’ is in Catullus’ manner: 5 13 Cum sciet, another *cum* preceding in v. 10, as here in v. 5 ; 13 13; 64 344, 346, 350, 351; esp. 236 ut...Agnoscam, cum te reducem aetas prospera sistet.

I have little to add to this notice which was printed six years ago. I still look upon it as a more satisfactory arrangement of the beautiful poem than any which Catullus’ Editors have offered, tho’ Ellis throughout his commentary makes not the slightest reference to it, and Baehrens thus prints 7 and 8 : In solacium sui doloris (Credo, tum grauis acquiescet ardor). Notwithstanding all I have said, Ellis in commenting on 7 still holds that Lachmann may be right in making

'solaciolum' a 2nd nominative to 'libet', and refers to 38 7, as if I had not shewn that that passage has nothing to do with the point in question, 'paulum quid' coming under the rule which permits 'lubet' to be personal. Nor does Ellis' long comment on the three lines, attached in the Mss. to our poem, help me in the least to see how they can in any way belong to it. They seem clearly a fragment of some other poem. In my note on 7 Cum acquiescet, I should have stated that in 5 13 V has 'Cum sciat'; but 'Cum sciet', as Buecheler suggests, should I think be read.

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[Reprinted from the Journal of Philology, vol. 4 p. 231—240]

This poem is a fascinating example of the gentler manner of Catullus. Though it will not bear comparison with some of his more impassioned pieces, it has an exquisite beauty and finish in its own style, which will not be readily matched in Latin or any other language. Fortunately too the blunders of the manuscripts are so plain and have been corrected with such success by the older critics that there are only two words in the whole poem about which there is any difference of opinion: *uocaret* in l. 20, for which Lachmann, followed by Haupt, reads *uagaret*, and *nouissime* in l. 24 for which many Editors, old and recent, read *nouissimo*. In both cases I keep the manuscript reading, in the former with a good deal of hesitation, in the latter with an absolute conviction that the change adopted by so many seriously interferes with the right understanding of the poem. Clear and limpid however as the language may appear at first sight, when it

is more carefully examined, its right interpretation is found to be by no means so simple, and seems to have been often missed; for Catullus here, as in his other pure iambic poem, owing perhaps to the restrictions of the metre, is very abrupt and allusive and requires much expansion in order to be fully apprehended. Believing that a minute dissection of the poem and a careful comparison of it and the tenth elegy of the first book of the *Tristia*, which Ovid has written with Catullus in his mind, probably in his hands, will clear up much that is obscure, I offer the following remarks, first printing the Latin, as precision is needed and careful punctuation is of importance.

Phaselus ille quem uidetis, hospites,
ait fuisse nauium celerrimus,
neque ullius natantis impetum trabis
nequisse praeter ire, siue palmulis
5 opus foret uolare siue linteo.
et hoc negat minacis Hadriatici
negare litus, insulasue Cycladas
Rhodumque nobilem horridamque Thraciam
Propontida, trucemue Ponticum sinum,
10 ubi iste post phaselus antea fuit
comata silua: nam Cytorio in iugo
loquente saepe sibilum edidit coma.
Amastri Pontica et Cytore buxifer,
tibi haec fuisse et esse cognitissima
15 ait phaselus; ultima ex origine
tuo stetisse dicit in cacumine,
tuo imbuisse palmulas in aequore;
et inde tot per impotentia freta
erum tulisse, laeua siue dextera
20 uocaret aura, siue utrumque Iuppiter

simul secundus incidisset in pedem ;
neque ulla uota litoralibus deis
sibi esse facta, cum ueniret a marei
nouissime hunc ad usque limpidum lacum.

25 sed haec prius fuere : nunc recondita
senet quiete seque dedicat tibi,
gemelle Castor et gemelle Castoris.

In these verses Catullus represents himself as pointing out and praising to some guests, who were with him at his villa in Sirmio, the phaselus, now laid up beside the Benacus or Lago di Garda, which had carried him from Bithynia to Italy. This at least is the sense in which Catullus' words have been almost universally understood. But one of his latest expositors Westphal in his translation and commentary, pp. 170—174, says that the poem contains much that is obscure (*viel Dunkles*), and proceeds to explain it very differently. The ship had to cross the sea ; it was not therefore a mere 'barke' ; it could hardly then have come up the Po and Mincio to the Lago di Garda ; Catullus too seems first to have gone on board at Rhodes, and to have performed the first part of the journey by land ; the ship therefore was not his own ; he only hired a passage on it from Rhodes ; the *erum* of v. 19 was the owner or master of the ship ; the *limpidus lacus* was not the Benacus, but a saltwater bay of the Adriatic, perhaps on the Grecian shore ; the *hospites* were not Catullus' guests, but the hosts who entertained him on his landing on the coast. This explanation gives a very lame and impotent meaning to the piece, the 'viel Dunkles' of which we will endeavour to clear up in a different way, partly by the assistance of Ovid. The phaselus was unquestionably

built for Catullus or purchased by him in Bithynia, and must have been a light galley constructed for great speed and provided with both sails and oars. It need not have been of any great size: a friend of mine during the war with Russia went to the Baltic, cruised there for some time and returned to England in a yacht of seven tons; and we know from a late memorable trial that the 'Osprey' of 66 tons, built for mere trading purposes, could circumnavigate more than half the globe, whether or not it bore in addition the weight and fortunes of Sir Roger. And what feats of discovery were performed of old by heroes like Baffin in their craft of 40 tons! We shall probably not be wrong in assuming that our phaselus was of a burden somewhere between 20 and 50 tons, and that this would be the size of Ovid's ship too, of which we are now going to speak.

Ovid on his sad journey to Tomoe had come by sea to the Isthmus of Corinth; he there quitted the ship, crossed the Isthmus and purchased a vessel at Cenchreae, which was to convey him and all his property to his final destination. He sailed in it as far as the entrance of the Hellespont, where he seems to have encountered contrary winds and been obliged to beat about, and to have been carried back first to Imbros and then to Samothrace, where he made up his mind to send on his own vessel, doubtless with all his *impedimenta* and most of his servants, through the Hellespont, the Propontis, the Bosporus, and along the left shore of the Euxine to Tomoe; while he himself, weary of the sea, crossed over to Thrace and performed the rest of his journey by land. All this he tells us in the elegy already spoken of, which was written while he was staying in Samothrace. It is the most cheerful

in the whole series of the 'Tristia' and the 'Ex Ponto'. The poet finds himself in a cultivated place after the dangers and discomforts of the sea and before he had learnt what Tomoe really was, or rather the aspect it assumed to his diseased imagination which succeeded in persuading him, though fresh from the astronomical studies of the *Fasti*, that a town, in the latitude of Florence, lay far within the Arctic circle. Were it not for Ovid's minute diffuseness, his meaning would perhaps have been more obscure to us than the curt and allusive language of Catullus, which we will now endeavour to illustrate, partly from this elegy.

The first five lines of our poem we will thus translate: 'That yacht, my friends, which you see, claims to have been the fastest of ships; no spurt of aught which swims of timber built but she could pass, she says, whether need were to fly with blades of oars or under canvas'. These verses are thus imitated by Ovid, who shews himself here too 'nimium amator ingenii sui' and pushes to hyperbole the simple thought of Catullus:

Est mihi sitque precor, flauae tutela Mineruae,
 nauis, et a picta casside nomen habet.
siue opus est uelis, minimam bene currit ad auram,
 siue opus est remo, remige carpit iter.
nec comites uolucris contenta est uincere cursu,
 occupat egressas quamlibet ante rates.

We will next take vss. 6—21 of Catullus: 'And this the shore of the blustering Adriatic will not, she says, gainsay; no nor the Cyclad isles and Rhodes renowned and the rough Thracian Propontis; no nor the surly Pontic gulf, where, afterwards a yacht, she was before a leafy wood; for often on Cytorus' ridge

with her talking leaves she gave a whispering forth. To you, Amastris-upon-Pontus, and to you, box-clad Cytorus, these facts, the yacht declares, were and are known right well: from her earliest birthtime on your top she stood, she says; in your waters handselled her blades; and next she carried her master over so many raging seas, whether on her left the breeze invited or on her right, or Jupiter propitious had fallen at once on both her sheets'. In these lines Catullus twice over in his very rapid manner, with the simplest copulae, indicates the voyage of his yacht from the time it was launched in the Pontus, probably at Amastris or perhaps at Cytorus, till it reached the shores of Italy: first in 6—9, and again in 17—21. In the former verses the voyage, as the commentators have observed, is described in reversed order by one looking back on it from Italy. It is divided into three main sections by the particle *ue*, as I have tried to indicate by the punctuation of both my text and my translation. The yacht was built in Amastris or in Cytorus, the town and hill having both the same name. These two great emporia for the box and other woods of the Cytorian mount are mentioned together in the Iliad (B 853) Οἳ ῥα Κύτωρον ἔχον καὶ Σήσαμον (old name of Amastris) ἀμφενέμοντο. This part of Paphlagonia, of which Amastris was the capital, now belonged to the province of Bithynia, and it was natural that Catullus should get his yacht there. But when he left Bithynia in the year B.C. 56, he was in Nicaea far down to the south-west and not far from the Propontis: comp. 46 4 Linquntur Phrygii, Catulle, campi Nicaeaeque ager uber aestuosae: Ad claras Asiae uolemus urbes. It is pretty certain then in itself that Catullus would not make the long and almost

impracticable hill-journey from Nicaea to Amastris or Cytorus; and this will appear more clearly from what will be said presently. He would order his yacht to be brought round along the 'surly' Pontus, through the Bosphorus into the Propontis, and would embark with all his belongings either at Cios, which Mela (I 100) calls 'Phrygiae opportunissimum emporium', or at Myrlea (Apamea), to both of which there was a short and easy road from Nicaea.

Then in 7—9 'insulasue—Propontida', Catullus briefly indicates the second division of the yacht's voyage, he himself being now on board. It coasted along the Propontis, then through the Hellespont, and along the shore of Mysia, Lydia, etc., or the islands Lesbos, Chios, etc. to Rhodes, which the poem intimates to have been the most eastern point to which he went. He would thus probably visit the most famous towns of the province of Asia: *Ad claras Asiae uolemus urbes*: so Ovid '*Te duce magnificas Asiae perspeximus urbes*'. The yacht of course with his property and servants would be coasting along all the time. It is likely enough that he himself would sometimes travel by land: it was probably on this occasion that he visited his brother's tomb in the Troad, and doubtless cities like Ephesus and Halicarnassus were not passed over. But Rhodes would seem to be specially designated not only on account of its celebrity, but also because it was the farthest point in his voyage homewards. He would then make straight for the 'insulas Cycladas', visiting perhaps Delos; for they lay directly between Rhodes and the Isthmus of Corinth, over which Catullus no doubt had his yacht transported. It would be carried across by the *Diolcos* in a few hours; and it is almost certain that he would not make

the long and dangerous voyage round Cape Malea. In fact his words, as we have said, short and allusive here as elsewhere, seem to point out his course. We now come to the last part of the sea-voyage, denoted by the 'minacis Hadriatici litus', which indicates briefly his coasting along the Grecian shore, crossing over the Hadriatic, and then running along the Italian shore. What we have said of his joining his yacht in the Propontis seems implied not only in the nature of the case, but also in the poet's own words (v. 18) 'inde tot per impotentia freta *Erum tulisse*'; and that he did not personally know the first part of the yacht's voyage might appear from his appeal to Amastris and Cytorus: all this, the growth of the wood, the first launching of the ship, you, Amastris and Cytorus, know, it says, and know full well, even if I do not. That the *erum tulisse* is emphatic, I will try to shew from Ovid too; but first I will speak of the concluding lines of the poem (22—27), as Ovid will perhaps illustrate them also.

'And not a vow had been offered for her to the guardian gods of the shore, when last of all she came from the sea as far as this limpid lake. But this is past and done: now she ages in tranquil retirement and dedicates herself to you, twin-brother Castor and Castor's brother twin'. The yacht at v. 22 had reached the mouth of the Po, its sailing qualities being such that it had never been in danger enough for a single vow to be offered up, until it was quite clear of the sea. The oratio obliqua renders this sentence a little obscure, as it does not shew whether 'esse facta' is the perfect or the pluperfect: the oratio recta would be plain enough: neque ulla uota dis litoralibus mihi facta erant tum, cum nouissime, mari relicto, ueni ad hunc usque lacum: *ultima ex origine* of 15, *et inde* of 18, and *cum*

nouissime of 23 and 24, answer to each other just as in Plancus' letter to Cicero (ad fam. x 42 2), we have *primum—deinde—nouissime*, as well as in Seneca de ira III 5 2: Quintilian has *primum—post haec—nouissime*; *prius—tum—nouissime*; *maxime—tum—nouissime*: [Varro Bimarcus VIII (25) Cum *nouissime* putaret, quantum sumpti fecerit: the precise expression of Catullus]. Cicero, a purist in such matters, admonished doubtless by Aelius Stilo, as Gellius tells us (x 21), seems never to use the adverb *nouissime*, and once only in a somewhat early oration the adjective *nouissimus*, though his correspondent Plancus twice uses the former and Cassius and Galba both employ the second word in letters to him; and Gellius says that Cato, Sallust and others of that age 'uerbo isto promisce usitati sint': the adverb occurs three times in Sallust's Catiline and Jugurtha. Those Editors therefore, old and recent, who change the manuscript reading to *nouissimo*, in my judgment spoil Catullus. He is injured too by those who put a comma after *Thraciam* in v. 8; for though I would not assert with Lachmann that Catullus or Lucretius could not have used *Thraciam* as a substitute for *Thracam* or *Thracen*, the poem as I have explained it seems to require *Thraciam* to be an epithet of *Propontida*. The yacht too must have hugged the Asiatic coast and quite avoided Thrace, and finally 'horridam *Thraciam Propontida*' is symmetrical with 'trucem *Ponticum sinum*'. As for *uocaret* in v. 20, when Lachmann (Lucret. p. 178) says he does not understand it, he knew of course such passages as Klotz and Ellis cite from Virgil and Statius, or such a one as I have noted down from Ovid (Heroid. 13 9) et qui tua uela uocaret, Quem cuperent nautae, non ego, uentus erat: a favourable breeze springs up and invites the ship or the sails

to come out of port and take advantage of it. In the passage from Ovid's *Remedium* quoted by Ellis, you are told to let the oar follow the current, 'qua fluctus uocant'. It is not easy then to see the appropriateness of the word here, where, as Lachmann observes, a shifting wind is spoken of. I sometimes picture to myself the poet thinking of the yacht as becalmed or using its oars, and then of a wind suddenly springing up and inviting it to spread its sails; but that hardly agrees with the 'raging seas' of the preceding line. Lachmann (*Lucret.* p. 178) then may perhaps be right in reading 'uagaret', which well suits the context.

The *erum tulisse* of v. 19 seems, as I have shewn above, to be emphatic and to imply that Catullus did not himself make the voyage from the Pontus round to the Propontis: these words have a bearing too on 22—24, if I am not mistaken, and indicate that Catullus, when he had safely reached the Italian coast, did not accompany his yacht in the very tedious voyage up the Po and then the Mincio into the Lago di Garda, which would have been made for the most part against a very powerful stream partly by sailing, partly by rowing, but mainly I presume by towing from the bank. Of course this would be the most convenient way for his heavy effects and part of his attendants to go. If the Mincio in Catullus' time, as is said to be the case now, was not navigable where it joins the Po, the yacht must have been transported there, as at the Isthmus. But great changes may have taken place between those days and ours in the river's course. He himself in all probability started by some quicker and more convenient route for Sirmio, to which the 31st poem shews that he hastened, as soon as he returned from Bithynia. He may indeed have quitted his ship

at Brundusium, and not been in it during its coasting voyage from thence to the mouth of the Po.

Now this and much else that I have said above seem to be confirmed by Ovid in the elegy spoken of: comp. v. 9 foll.

illa Corinthiacis primum mihi cognita Cenchreis
fida manet trepidae duxque comesque uiae,
perque tot euentus et iniquis concita uentis
aequora Palladio numine tuta fuit.

In the first two of these verses there appears to be an allusion to vv. 14—16 of our poem: Ovid's ship was 'primum cognita' to him at Cenchreae, where he purchased it, while Catullus traces his back to its origin on Cytorus; and in the last two lines Ovid manifestly refers to the 'tot per impotentia freta' of Catullus. Ovid then continues

nunc quoque tuta, precor, uasti secet ostia Ponti,
quasque petit, Getici litoris intret aquas:

and he goes on to describe how the ship had got into the Hellespont and then was forced back to Imbros, until in v. 20

Threiciam tetigit fessa carina Samon.
saltus ab hac terra breuis est Tempyra petenti:
hac dominum tenus est illa secuta suum.
nam mihi Bistonios placuit pede carpere campos:
Hellespontiacas illa relegit aquas:

and then he proceeds tediously to describe in 18 lines the ship's voyage to Tomoe, through the Hellespont, Propontis, Bosphorus and along the left shore of the Euxine, enumerating nine or ten towns which it would have to pass; while he tells us nothing further of his

own journey by land, after he has said that he would cross over to Tempyra on the mainland and then travel through Thrace. He manifestly felt that the ship was carrying his property and household-gods; it was therefore the main object of his solicitude. Now in the line printed in Italics there is a clear reference to Catullus' *erum tulisse*; and from this I should infer that Ovid understood the other poet's meaning to be that he too only accompanied his yacht on this part of the voyage. Ovid, anxious for the safety of his vessel, says (v. 43) that if the ship reaches Tomoe,

hanc si contigerit, merita cadet agna Mineruae:
non facit ad nostras hostia maior opes:

this too looks like an allusion to the 'neque ulla uota litoralibus deis cet.' of Catullus. Ovid not knowing the issue of the voyage makes this vow: Catullus had been with his yacht while it was crossing the sea, and would have been able at any moment to offer up vows if necessary. When the ship reached land, all cause for anxiety was now over. The next verses of Ovid also

uos quoque, Tyndaridae, quos haec colit insula fratres,
mite, precor, duplici numen adeste uiae:
altera namque parat Symplegadas ire per artas,
scindere Bistonias altera puppis aquas

appear to be suggested by Catullus' three last verses: Catullus says that all is now over and the yacht is laid up and dedicated to Castor and Pollux: Ovid begs their protection chiefly for his own ship which has yet to make its voyage, but also for the ship which has to carry him in person from Samothrace over to the mainland.

As the manuscripts of Catullus uniformly give *phāsellus*, it is not improbable that this spelling is his own,

on the analogy perhaps of *quĕrella*, *lŏquilla*, *lŭella*, *mĕdella*: thus Cicero and some others seem to have written *cāmellus*. Something in the pronunciation of the words led it may be to this. In v. 4 L. Mueller rightly prints *praeter ire*, which is required by the metre: in 29 22 Catullus no doubt wrote 'Nisi uncta de uorare patrimonia': in his day this separation of the monosyllabic preposition from its verb was common enough, as we see from inscriptions. In Catullus' iambics and scazons, which have the hephthemimeral caesura, the end of the second foot must coincide with the end of a word, as in 'Neque ullius | natantis | impetum trabis'. The same law is observed in the Virgilian catalecta and by Martial in his many hundred iambic lines, chiefly scazons, except that in catal. 3 and 4 we find 'Generque Noctuine', and 'Superbe Noctuine', and once in Martial (vi 74 4), 'Mentitur, Aefulane: non habet dentes': a proper name forming the sole exception in so many hundred verses would seem to confirm the rule.

Ellis has devoted a good deal of criticism to my analysis of the poem, printed six years ago: some parts of it he accepts, some he rejects. I will now make a few remarks on his remarks. I adhere entirely to the general exposition I gave of Catullus' voyage home: none of Ellis' objections touches the real points at issue, and some of them I hope to shew are altogether irrelevant. My main reason of course for arguing that Catullus himself got on board his yacht in the Propontis was this: he started homewards from Nicaea, from which there was most ready access to the Propontis. Had he gone to Cytorus or Amastris, he would have

had to make a most difficult and laborious land-journey, solely to add to the length and annoyance of the sea-voyage. He may have had special motives for so doing; but I have endeavoured to shew that the poet's very curt and allusive language supports my conclusions. It is plain enough that if a man wants to go to the Phasis, he must enter the Euxine; but Catullus says nothing of Phasis or Argo, and why Ellis should bring Propertius and his friend Tullus into the discussion, I do not see. But Ellis follows 'the ordinary, certainly the natural, view, which makes *inde* local'. It may be the ordinary; but why it should be the natural view, I cannot comprehend. My exposition leaves the Ms. reading intact; Ellis', which is the ordinary one, requires a change in it. And *inde* as often refers to time as to place: not only does Catullus use it in the one sense as often as in the other; but all the best writers, such as Cicero and Caesar, equally recognise both senses: Caes. B. C. III 9 7 has a sentence much resembling Catul. 29 16 and 17, *inde* having the same force in both passages: and Catullus' metre both here and in 29 demands *Et inde*, not *Et deinde*. In the catalecta 'Et inde' seems to denote time at least as naturally as place; and the 'praeter hoc nouissimum' can refer to time alone, supporting therefore the Ms. 'nouissime'. Ovid's elegy bears much more than 'points of resemblance' to our poem; but here let me say that throughout my argument I only bring Ovid in to help to confirm what Catullus' words suggest to my mind; not to give them an unnatural twist, as Ellis, taking up his own point of view instead of mine, tries to shew, I think without success.

1: Comp. Mart. II 57 1 Hic quem uidetis. 8: Ellis, in separating 'horridamque Thraciam' and 'Propontida',

among all Editors since Lachmann inclusive is left in a minority of one: I have no doubt that here I am right and he is wrong. He now interprets the 'horridam Thraciam' to mean the genial and cultivated Chersonese, whose shore is more West than North of the Hellespont.

20 uocaret: I would gladly recall what I have written on this word; but alas! 'littera scripta manet': Ellis however only makes matters worse. Lachmann I fear, with all his virtues, was no better than a Berliner land-lubber; and all the combined nautical knowledge of Ellis and myself is needed to bring the yacht safely from the Propontis, to say nothing of the Euxine. Years ago I saw that I had missed the point of Catullus' expression, and my friend Sir Henry Thring wrote to me: 'laeua siue dextera Vocaret aura' has nothing to do with a 'shifting wind'; on the contrary it means 'whether sailing on the left or the right tack with the same wind—a cross wind': in other words she bore her master equally well whether sailing with a cross wind on either tack, or sailing straight before the wind.

22—24: Of my elucidation of this passage Ellis says: 'This seems to give an unnaturally pluperf. sense to *esse facta*, while it forces *sibi* and leaves *usque* with little meaning'. Let us see: first of all the *sibi* has no bearing whatever on the general argument: I translated *sibi* 'for it' not 'by it', because at the time it struck me as an unnecessary hyperbole to say the vows were offered by the yacht itself; a far greater hyperbole than the 'seque dedicat tibi' of 26. Catullus I grant, tho' the usage was very rare in his time, could write *sibi* for *a se*; as 37 13 Pro qua mihi sunt magna bella pugnata: but take it either way, it comes to exactly the same thing. Then as to the pluperfect, I maintain that *esse*

facta is just as much a pluperf. as a perfect, *esse* being the infin. of *eram* as much as of *sum*; and, more than that, it must be here a pluperf. even if you read 'No-uissimo'; for surely the vows would only have been made 'litoralibus deis' while the ship was on the sea in danger of shipwreck, not while it was in the Po, Mincio and Garda: Votaque seruati soluunt in *litore* nautae Glauco et Panopeae et Inoo Melicertae. At least I assert this to be the natural not the 'unnatural' meaning of Catullus: 10 10 Respondi, id quod erat, nihil neque ipsis Nec praetoribus esse nec cohorti: here too *esse* is rat. obl. of *erat*, not *est*. Ellis' quotation from Seneca gives to 'nouissime' precisely the meaning I give to it; and his own explanation of the word is only an imperfect reproduction of mine. But I leave *usque* 'with little meaning': indeed! surely *usque* is well said of a yacht undertaking the long tedious voyage from the sea 'even as far as this limpid lake'; or else I cannot appreciate the force of words. Let others judge how I have answered Ellis' objections: I have now two or three more observations to make on our poem.

2 ait...celerrimus: 'a not very common attraction' Ellis observes. Ovid however is fond of it; I have collected from him many instances like met. XIII 141 quia rettulit Ajax Esse Iouis pronepos: and Catullus was not the first who 'ventured on' it: Plaut. asin. 634 Quas hodie adulescens Diabulus ipsi daturus dixit. Ellis might have illustrated too the second form of 'attraction' in the verse: with 'nauium celerrimus' comp. Cic. de nat. II 130 Indus uero qui est omnium fluminum maximus; Pliny XVIII 79 hordeum frugum omnium mol- lissimum est; Hor. sat. I 9 4 dulcissime rerum; Ov. her. 4 125, ars I 213 and met. VIII 49 pulcherrime rerum. 12: "The yacht gave a rustling with the voice of her

tresses" is a combination which would probably have been avoided by Virgil: it is on faults of this kind that the indifference of Horace for Catullus...was probably grounded' Ellis. Cultivated language is made up of inconsistent metaphors, which time has smoothed over. Ellis' translation I think caricatures Catullus: *κόμη* was used by Homer for the foliage of a tree, and to Catullus I believe *coma* had much the same meaning that *foliage* has to us. A poet like him would drink in the mysterious beauty of the wind's rustling through the trees, whose leaves were their organ of speech; whose voice was this very rustling. If Horace had been able to commit 'faults' like this, he would have been a greater poet than he is. 27: this verse expresses, not 'allusively' but directly, just the opposite of what Ellis says it does: it separates as distinctly as possible the two brothers and means 'Castor, gemine frater, et Pollux, gemine frater Castoris': similarly in the prologue of the *Menaechmus* Plautus says of the two brothers: *Nunc ille geminus...uenit cum seruo suo Hunc quaeritatum geminum germanum suum.*

6

Flauī, delicias tuas Catullo,
 ni sint illepidae atque inelegantes,
 uelles dicere nec tacere posses.
 uerum nescio quid febriculosi
 5 scorti diligis: hoc pudet fateri.
 nam te non uiduas iacere noctes—
 nequiquam tacitum—cubile clamat
 sertis ac Syrio fragrans oliuo
 puluinusque peraeque et hic et ille
 10 attritus tremulique quassa lecti

argutatio inambulatioque.

Mani, stupra uales nihil tacere.

cur? non tam latera ecfututa pandas,

nei tu quid facias ineptiarum.

15 quare, quidquid habes boni malique,

dic nobis. uolo te ac tuos amores

ad caelum lepidu uocare uersu.

6 noctes—Nequiquam tacitum—cubile *sic interpunxi*. 8 ac Syrio *uulgo*. asirio V. et Syrio *Baehrens*. 12 Mani, stupra uales *scripsi*. Nam inista (*or ni ista*) preualet V. Nam ni stupra ualet *Scaliger*. N. nil *Haupt*. Iam nil stupra uales *Schwabius* 'aliquando'.

There are several points in this poem which none of the commentators, so far as I have seen, has brought into view or explained. In the first place it must be observed that Catullus pictures himself as peering about his friend Flavius' bedroom and addressing him there. He notes the bed reeking with unguents, and the worn pillows; he it is who rocks the bed and makes it creak and dance about. Flavius in vain attempts to conceal the truth, which all the things about him proclaim with a loud voice.

I now proceed to vss. 6 and 7, which not one of the Editors whom I have come across explains in a satisfactory manner; but which by a better punctuation, unless I am mistaken, I have made quite clear: *tacitum* is not an adjective here, but the passive participle, in apposition with the preceding verse. This use of *tacitus* is quite as classical as the other: the common Lexicons give abundant examples, from Cicero, Livy, Plautus, Virgil and others: Quis te, magne Cato, tacitum aut te, Cosse, relinquat? 'For that you do not pass solitary nights—a fact vainly concealed by you—the bed proclaims, perfumed with garlands and Syrian

oil, etc.' I may just observe that 'bed', not 'bedchamber', is the common meaning of *cubile* in Catullus: see 64 163; 66 21; 68 29. Then in 12 it is clear to me that *Nam* is meaningless, and that *ualet* cannot be right; for everything cries out, instead of trying to hide what it knows, except Manius himself. We must read then *uales*; and it strikes me that the strangely corrupt commencement of the line is best explained by reading *Mani* for *Nam ni* (or *ini*): thus 29 3 the Mss. have *Nam murrām* for *Mamurram*; 28 9 *Omnem mi* for *O Memmi*, proper names being a habitual source of corruption in Mss. See how in the two parts of 68 the names of Manlius and of Allius are variously corrupted. Manius Flavius therefore would be the friend's name. With *ualet* for *uales*, a usual corruption in Mss. like ours, compare 68 2 *mittis* O, *mittit* G, 10 *petis* O, *petit* G, 7 4 *iacet* G, *iaces* O; 41 8 *solet et* V for *solet es* (i.e. *aes*), 61 119 *taceatis* V for *taceat*, 64 384 *Nereus* V for *Heroum et*, where we see too the confusion so extraordinarily common in our Mss. of *o* and *e*: thus too in 110 7 I read 'est furis' for the 'efficit' of Mss., the sentence demanding an *est*.

12 is thus an emphatic repetition of 6 foll.: 'no, Manius, you cannot at all conceal your amours'. Everything about you is a tell-tale, nay (13 foll.) your own haggard appearance. Say out then all you have to disclose, that I may wed you and your love to immortal verse.

In 3 the imperfects I think may be defended: I do not follow Heinsius and Baehrens in changing them into present subjunctives. 7 I cannot comprehend why Editors retain the *nequicquam* or *nequidquam* of our barbarous Mss. instead of reading *nequiquam*, the sole classical form. 8 I keep the vulgate *ac Syrio* for *asirio*

of Mss. and do not with Baehrens read *et S.*, as *s* for *sc* is a very common blunder in our Mss.: 46 3 *silesit* O, 60 2 *silla* V, 61 139 *simus* O, 66 73 *diserpent* V, 88 4 *sis* O: on the other hand *sc* for *s* is just as common. I shall have to return to this and similar corruptions. In 9 too I prefer *hic et ille* to *hic et illic*: *o* and *e* must have been almost indistinguishable in our Mss.: this I shall recur to again and again.

10: I have yet to say a word about *quassa*, which I do not change, tho' its precise force is far from clear and I cannot at all discern the drift of Ellis' explanation and illustration. Quintilian XII 10 29, speaking of the harsh sound of F, says that this harshness of sound is '*quassa quodammodo*', shattered, broken, when a vowel immediately follows, it being much more harsh, when it on the other hand precedes and so '*frangit*' any of the consonants, as in the word '*frangit*'. Quintilian thus shews that *quassa* can be applied to a sound, and has much the same meaning as *fracta*. Perhaps therefore in Catullus it denotes the broken, unequal creaking of the bed, which had become *tremulus* or rickety by the use to which it had been put.

I have not much to remark upon the poems which come between 6 and 10. In 8 9, the end of which is lost in the Mss., I much prefer Avantius' completion, adopted by most Editors,

nunc iam illa non uult, tu quoque, inpotens, *noli*
to Scaliger's, which the latest Editor Baehrens adopts, '*tu quoque inpotens ne sis*', because there seems to me to be a manifestly designed parallelism in this verse, corresponding with the similar one just above:

ibi illa multa tum iocosa fiebant,
quae tu uolebas nec puella nolebat.

v. 14 cum rogaberis nulla: this use of *nullus* with the sense of *omnino non*, *prorsum non*, I have illustrated in my note on Lucretius i 377 (and ii 53) and compared with the similar adverbial use of *totus* and *omnis*, so very common in the best authors. As Cicero and Lucretius employ *nullus* in this way, there can be no reason for refusing the same liberty to Catullus. Ellis observes that Holtze quotes no instance of this use of *nullus* with passive verbs. I have quoted l. l. from Cicero 'consilium quod capi nullum potest', as well as this passage of Catullus. There too I have cited Cicero's 'repudiari se totum putabit', which has much analogy with Catullus' expression. Livy employs *ullus* in the same way: VIII 35 4 quae in discrimine fuerunt, an ulla post hanc diem essent.

Of the chronological inferences which Ellis draws from our 9th poem I will speak after I have discussed the 10th and 12th. 9 2: To the illustrations from Cicero given by Ellis, which I had myself noted down, add Brutus 191 Plato enim mihi instar est centum milium. 4 anumque matrem: Mart. xi 23 14 sed quasi mater anus; XIII 34 anus coniunx: Plautus has 'anus uxor', 'sacerdos anus', 'mater lena'. 9 os oculosque: Cic. phil. VIII 20 ante os oculosque legatorum; Aen. VIII 152 ille os oculosque loquentis cet.; Ovid Ibis 155 ante os oculosque uolabo: the sound has evidently brought the two words thus together.

10

Varus me meus ad suos amores
uisum duxerat e foro otiosum,
scortillum, ut mihi tunc repente uisum est,

non sane illepidum neque inuenustum.

5 huc ut uenimus, incidere nobis
sermone uarii, in quibus, quid esset
iam Bithynia, quo modo se haberet,
ecquonam mihi profuisset aere.

respondi id quod erat, nihil neque ipsis

10 nec praetoribus esse nec cohorti.

cur quisquam caput unctius referret?

praesertim quibus esset irrumator

praetor nec faceret pili cohortem.

'at certe tamen' inquiunt, 'quod illic

15 natum dicitur esse, comparasti

ad lecticam homines'. ego, ut puellae

unum me facerem beatiorem,

'non' inquam 'mihi tam fuit maligne,

ut, prouincia quod mala incidisset,

20 non possem octo homines parare rectos'.

at mi nullus erat neque hic neque illic,

fractum qui ueteris pedem grabati

in collo sibi collocare posset.

hic illa, ut decuit cinaediorum,

25 'quaeso' inquit 'mihi, mi Catulle, paulum

istos: commodum enim uolo ad Sarapim

deferri'. 'mane me' inquit puellae;

'istud quod modo dixeram me habere,

fugit me ratio: meus sodalis

30 Cinna est Gaius: is sibi parauit.

uerum, utrum illius an mei, quid ad me?

utor tam bene quam mihi paratis.

sed tu insulsa male et molesta uiuis,

per quam non licet esse negligentem'.

10 cohorti. Cur—referret? *sic interpunxi.* cohorti, Cur—referret, *uulgo.*
27 mane me *is corrupt.* mane *Statius.* minime *Pontanus.* mi anime *Bergk.*
Perhaps meminei. 32 paratis *Statius.* pararim V, *uulgo.*

There are several points I think it worth while to dwell upon in this striking poem, than which there does not exist in the whole compass of Latin literature a finer example of terse idiomatic expression, of which Catullus and Terence are such consummate masters.

I will begin with vss. 5—14. The first lines are clear enough: it is only in 9—13 that any difficulties have been found. These difficulties, unless I am greatly mistaken, I have removed by a better punctuation, by dividing the passage into two distinct sentences, without departing in one word from the genuine Ms. reading. For, if we compare G and O, there can be no doubt that in 9 *neque ipsis* and in 13 *nec*, and not *non*, *faceret*, are right. I am amazed that none of the commentators has made this simple change. Some of them have resorted to violent alterations of text, others to explanations which they themselves feel to be unsatisfactory. Thus the latest Editor Baehrens partly rewrites the passage; while Ellis appends to his first comment: 'Yet there is something illogical etc.' and goes to another 'conceivable' one. A full stop and a mark of interrogation will make the logic run quite smoothly.

'When we came to Varus' house', says Catullus, 'various subjects of conversation were started. One of them was, how Bithynia was now off, what was its condition, whether I had made any money out of it. I told them in reply, what was the simple truth, that there was nothing at all for people, or for praetors or for praetor's staff'. And here the sentence ends, tho' all the Editors carry it on with a most perplexing result. Is it that they have not apprehended the fact, that in an interrogative sentence 'cur referret' is the right, and the only right, mood and tense for oratio obliqua? If proof of this be asked, I need only refer to

Madvig's *Opuscula* and *Grammar*. At the risk however of being tedious I will quote the following passages from Caesar, as they so precisely illustrate the turn of our sentence: B. G. I 40 2 *Ariouistum se consule cupidissime populi Romani amicitiam appetisse. cur hunc tam temere quisquam ab officio discessurum iudicaret?* B. C. I 72 *Caesar in eam spem uenerat, se sine pugna et sine uolnere suorum rem conficere posse, quod re frumentaria aduersarios interclusisset. cur etiam secundo proelio aliquos ex suis amitteret? cur uulnerari pateretur optime de se meritos milites? cur denique fortunam periclitaretur? praesertim cum non esset minus imperatoris consilio superare quam gladio.* B. G. IV 16 2 *responderunt populi Romani imperium Rhenum finire. si se inuito Germanos in Galliam transire non aequum existimaret, cur sui quicquam esse imperii aut potestatis trans Rhenum postularet?* These sentences illustrate Catullus in every point: observe the *cur* in every case introducing the question, with no connecting particle, and followed by an imperfect subjunctive; the *quisquam* and *quicquam*, the *praesertim*, the *responderunt*.

‘Why should any of us bring home our persons in gayer trim, especially when our praetor was a dirty fellow and cared not for his staff one straw?’ The plur. *quibus* referring to the indefinite *quisquam* is a very usual construction: comp. too 102 3 *illorum*, referring back to *fido ab amico*, and 111 2 *Nuptarum* referring back to *contentam uiuere*.

On vss. 14—20 there is a good note in the Huetiana (p. 207—210 ed. Amst. 1790): Huet anticipates what Haupt tells us in the *Hermes*, and quotes Probus from the *Juvenal scholia*. He remarks too that in the *Delphin Manilius* of 1679 he had said what is said five

years later in Vossius' Catullus; and observes that these verses, taken together, shew Catullus to have meant that the 'lectica octophorus' was invented and first used in Bithynia.

14 inquiunt: 'somebody said' Ellis: rather 'say they' i.e. Varus and the woman, for we are not to suppose any one else present. The mistress speaks, and Varus by his looks takes part, as it were, in the speech. Thus when Francesca has alone spoken, Paolo standing by weeping, Dante says: Queste parole da lor ci fur porte.

17 unum beatiorem: scarcely 'a particularly lucky fellow' with Ellis. The more common turn is, as Catullus elsewhere has it, Quis me uno uiuit felicior; Cic. epist. VII 16 3 neminem te uno Samarobriuae iuris peritiorem esse. When the *unus* is in the same case as the comparative, the object of comparison must either be expressed, as in the passage of Horace which Ellis quotes, and in Ter. hecyræ 861 Vt unus omnium homo te uiuat numquam quisquam blandior: comp. too Plaut. Amph. 1046 Qui me Thebis alter uiuit miserior?: or be understood, as here: beatiorem quam ceteram cohortem, as at once follows from what precedes. He had just said there was nothing at all for praetor or staff. Now, wishing to brag, he says: 'to make myself out to the lady to be the one man rich or fortunate above all the rest'. *facere* is used again by Catullus in the same sense: 97 9 et se facit esse uenustum.

24—27: 'Then she like an impudent little minx says, Pray, my dear Catullus, lend me them for a little; for I want presently to be carried to Sarapis's'. ut dec. cin.: Priap. 66 2 ut decet pudicam. I am surprised Ellis should feel any doubt of the meaning of 'cinaediorum': Catullus surely points to the impudence of

the request. As *commodă nam* is impossible in Catullus, Hand's *commodum enim*, tho' quite uncertain, gives a suitable sense and has been generally adopted by the later editors. The omission of an imperative *da* or the like is idiomatic enough: comp. 55 10 Camerium mihi, pessimae puellae; Mart. IV 43 5 Iratam mihi Pontiae lagonam, Iratum calicem mihi Metili. Perhaps *commode enim* is nearer the Ms. reading, as *a* and *e* are so often interchanged in our Mss.; and it would give a suitable sense: 'I want to be carried comfortably': comp. Cic. ad Att. XVI 6 1 Ego adhuc...magis commode quam strenue nauigavi. But Doering I see suggests *Istos da: modo nam*: now before I observed this, I had thought of *Istos da modo. nam uolo*; because I perceived that *da modo* might easily in the Mss. fall into the more natural prose arrangement *modo da*, and this get changed to *commoda*; and because I felt that *modo* would add force both to *paulum* and *da*: comp. Plaut. rud. 1127 Cedo modo mi, uidulum istum: Cic. de orat. III 196 si in his paulum modo offensum est; epist. I 5 b 2 si Pompeius paulum modo ostenderit sibi placere; Nepos Ham. 1 4 si paulum modo res essent refectae; Sall. Iug. 60 3 ubi hostes paulum modo pugnam remiserant; 93 4 paulum modo prona; Catil. 52 18 si paululum modo uos languere uiderint; Ter. heaut. 316 Vbi si paululum modo quid te fugerit. Ellis well defends the accusative *Sarapim*.

27—30: *manē me* is surely not admissible in Catullus, nor do the words appear to have any satisfactory meaning: *manē inquit* is good metre and good sense and is adopted by several of the best editors, and so is the *minime* of Pontanus, Lachmann, Haupt and others. Again Bergk's *mi anime* is enticing. But when that which follows is kept in view, *meminei*, which in Catul-

lus' Mss. might easily pass into *mane me*, *a* and *e* being so often confused, strikes me as not at all improbable. I prefer *inquio* of the old editors and Baehrens to *inqui* of most recent editors; for it seems to have as much indirect evidence to its existence as *inqui* has, and is as near to *inquit*, as *inqui* is to *inquit*; and elsewhere in the poem we have the presents, *inquiunt*, *inquit*, *inquam*.

The following sentence appears to me to be rightly understood by none of the commentators. They all take *quod* for the relative, whereas it surely is the conjunction. This has led Lachmann, Haupt and others to assume a lacuna, and Ellis' explanation is to me very unsatisfactory. This peculiar use of the conjunction *quod*, to denote the effect rather than the cause, I have illustrated at great length in my note on Lucretius IV 885 from Cicero, Ovid, Virgil and others. The phrase, I have there said, is elliptical and the full expression is seen in Catull. 68 33 *Nam quod scriptorum non magna est copia apud me, Hoc fit quod Romae uiuimus*. So here the full expression would be 'Istud quod modo dixeram me habere, hoc factum est quod me ratio fugit'. To the very many passages I have given in my note on Lucretius I here add the following: Phaedr. II 4 8 *Nam fodere terram quod uides cotidie Aprum insidiosum, quercum uult euertere*; Mart. VIII 21 3 *placidi numquid te pigra Bootae Plaustra uehunt, lento quod nimis axe uenis?*; ib. 82 2 *Nos quoque quod domino carmina parua damus, Posse deum rebus pariter Musisque uacare Scimus, et haec etiam certa placere deo*.

With *meminei* then, the passage is plain enough: 'Now I bethink myself: when I said just now that I had them, I forgot myself for the moment: my dear

friend Gaius Cinna, he it was who bought them': *istud*, the thing in question, the chair and its eight men; just like 'quod natum' above. Though the general sense of the words 'meus—parauit' is clear enough, their exact construction is not so certain: are they to be punctuated as I have punctuated with most of the editors? or, what is perhaps better, are we with Baehrens to put a comma after *sodalis*, and *Gaius*? Nay, as Cinna was not an uncommon name, it strikes me as not improbable that Catullus meant to say: 'meus sodalis Cinna—est Gaius—is s. p.: 'my friend Cinna—Gaius I mean (not Gnaeus or Lucius)—he it was who bought them': comp. Mart. ix 87 3 dicis 'modo liberum esse iussi Nastam—seruolus est mihi paternus—Signa'. One might suggest the omission of *est*; but it should be observed that throughout this poem we find spondees alone in the first foot. With 27—29 I would compare the writer ad Herenn. ii 40, which might perhaps favour my *minei*: in mentem mihi si uenisset, Quirites, non commissem ut in hunc locum res ueniret: nam hoc aut hoc fecissem; sed me tum ratio fugit.

In v. 32 Ellis tries, in my opinion without success, to defend the *pararim* of Mss. Because the best writers often use *tamquam* for *tamquam si*, because some good writers, Livy for instance, not unfrequently use *uelut* for *uelut si*, it by no means follows that *tam bene, quam* can pass for *tam bene, quam si*: none of Ellis' examples, Latin, Greek or English, helps in the least to prove this. But if the omission of *si* were conceded, can the *tense* be defended? this has always struck me as decisive. The poet is surely speaking of a matter past and gone: Cinna bought them, I did not; they are his, not mine. Surely then you want 'quam si mihi parassem', not 'pararim': 'I have the same use of them as if I had

bought them myself'. If this be so, Baehrens' *ceu* for *quam*, for other reasons improbable, will not help matters. Now Statius' *paratis* is not so violent a correction as some might at first sight think it to be; for final *m* and *s* are perpetually interchanged in our Mss. evidently because some original of them all expressed both by abbreviations not easy to distinguish. Of this I will speak more at length when I come to the 12th poem. If *paratim* then, a non-existent word, were once written, it would pass immediately into *pararim*; for *r* and *t* were also not easily distinguished in our archetype. Of this too I shall have occasion to speak later on: I have copied down some thirty cases in which V, or else G or O, put *r* for *t*, or *t* for *r*.

33: On this verse I should hardly have thought of dwelling, if it had not been for Baehrens' most infelicitous alterations, 'Set tu, mulsa, mala et m. u.'. No verse in Catullus less needs correction than this: the use of *male* = *ualde*, to denote an aggravation of an evil, is well illustrated from Horace by Bentley on od. III 14 11, where he reads, perhaps rightly, 'male inominatis': he cites 'male dispari' and other instances. The instance most resembling ours that I can find is Tibull. (Sulpicia) IV 10 2 ne male inepta cadam. The usage is very similar to the often recurring 'male aeger', 'male (peius, pessime) odi, metuo, timeo, formido, uror, perdo', and the like. We might compare with *male insulsus*, *ineptus*, Homer's *δυσάμμορος*, Empedocles' *δυσάνολβος*, Sophocles' *δυσάθλιος*, *δυσάλγητος*, and the like. I believe Martial had this line in his mind, when he wrote (XII 55 1) *Gratis qui dare uos iubet puellae, Insulsissimus improbissimusque est*, where the two superlatives are synonymous with the two adjectives of Catullus strengthened by *male*. At the same time I take it that

the poet intended his reader to infer that these words were spoken, not to the girl's face, but like a stage aside, as Catullus was turning away from them. The rudeness would otherwise be in glaring contrast to the polite tone of the rest of the poem. Such asides are common alike in the ancient and modern drama: *Trinummus* 40 *Vxor, uenerare ut nobis haec habitatio Bona fausta felix fortunataque euenat—Teque ut quam primum possim uideam emortuam.*

When I have first discussed some points in the 12th poem, I will say a few words about the date of C. Memmius' *propraetorship*, words which I should have deemed altogether superfluous, if Ellis had not broached and developed what appears to me to be a singular paradox on the subject.

12

Marrucine Asini, manu sinistra
 non belle uteris in ioco atque uino:
 tollis lintea neglegentiorum.
 hoc salsum esse putas? fugit te, inepte:
 5 quamuis sordida res et inuenusta est.
 non credis mihi? crede Pollioni
 fratri, qui tua furta uel talento
 mutari uelit: est enim leporum
 disertus puer ac facetiarum.
 10 quare aut hendecasyllabos trecentos
 expecta aut mihi lintheum remitte;
 quod me non mouet aestimatione,
 uerum est mnemosynum mei sodalis.
 nam sudaria Saetaba ex Hiberis
 15 miserunt mihi muneri Fabullus

et Veranius: haec amem necesse est
ut Veraniolum meum et Fabullum.

9 Disertus seems corrupt. Dissertus O. Differtus *Passeratius, Vossius, Baehrens.* perhaps Ducentum.

This Asinius, brother of the famous C. Asinius Pollio Cn. fil., is mentioned nowhere except in this poem of Catullus. He was probably a man of little worth, and may have soon disappeared from a world which he did not greatly adorn. Ellis calls him 'Asinius Polio, an elder brother of the friend of Horace and Virgil'. Though there is no direct evidence to the point, I am disposed to think he was the elder of the two; but I feel sure his cognomen was not Pollio. I rest my argument on the following grounds.

The family belonged to Teate, the capital of the Marrucini. It was plebeian and like so many other plebeian families, such as the Memmii and the Antonii, appears to have had no cognomen. Gnaeus Asinius, father of the two in question, had left his native place and come to settle in Rome. Wishing, we may presume, to do at Rome as the Romans did, he called one son C. Asinius Pollio. Whence this surname was derived, is altogether unknown. Had this been his eldest son, he would doubtless in compliance with the usual fashion have given him his own praenomen Gnaeus, and not Gaius. I infer therefore that the other was the elder and was named Cn. Asinius. But not Pollio; else Catullus would not in v. 6 have said 'crede Pollioni fratri', in order to distinguish the two. It was very usual at this period for the same family to use different cognomina: thus the father of Catullus' friend C. Licinius Calvus was named C. Licinius Macer. I believe therefore that we have here the youth's actual name,

and that the father called him Cn. Asinius Marrucinus in order to perpetuate the memory of their native country, as this son may have been born before the father had migrated from Teate to Rome. The very common cognomina Marsus, Sabinus, Latinus, Gallus, Afer, Hispanus and so many others doubtless had a similar origin. The history of Pollio's family, which ends with his grandsons, would illustrate and confirm what has been said. He called his eldest son C. Asinius Gallus Saloninus, giving him his own praenomen, but not his cognomen, and naming him Gallus, because he was born in Gallia Cisalpina; Saloninus to commemorate his own chief exploit, the capture of Salona. This ill-fated son had five sons of his own, and gave a different cognomen to each: see Drumann II p. 1. The eldest was C. Asinius Saloninus and had his father's praenomen; the next was Asinius Gallus; the third C. Asinius Pollio; the fourth M. Asinius Agrippa, so called after his grandfather M. Agrippa; the fifth was Asinius Celer. All this will confirm I believe what I have inferred about Cn. Asinius Marrucinus: the name of Pollio it will be seen recurs once only.

7 is I think quite correct: tho' the expression is unusual, the sense seems clear: 'Who would gladly have your thefts redeemed even at the cost of a talent', would gladly give so much that your thefts had never been committed. The common meaning of 'res aere mutatur' is 'a thing is sold for so much money'. But in certain writers the sense is occasionally just the opposite: 'The thing is bought for so much money'. Thus Hor. sat. II 7 109 'puer uam Furtiua mutat strigili' means 'the lad gives a scraper for a bunch of grapes': tho' elsewhere he has 'nec Otia diuitiis Arabum liberrima muto' with the opposite and more usual con-

struction. Sallust Iug. 38 10 quae quamquam graua et flagitii plena erant, tamen, quia mortis metu mutabantur, sicuti regi lubuerat pax conuenit : by accepting these conditions they were freed from the fear of death : the more common construction would be 'his rebus mortis metus mutabatur'. Id. orat. Philip. 7 quorum nemo diurna mercede uitam mutauerit : 'none of whom would give up his daily pay to save his life' : more usually 'nemo diurnam mercedem uita mutauerit'. Some editors, to get this construction, insert *non* after *nemo* without necessity. The construction in Catullus resembles those just quoted.

9 'Disertus' must I think be corrupt: the genitives cannot without an epithet be genitives of quality ; nor do I see how they can be governed by 'disertus': Ellis cites no parallel case whatever. 'Differtus', tho' it might possibly enough govern a genitive, I do not like, as it seems elsewhere to have a bad sense, 'crammed full of'. To one who examines the Mss. of Catullus my 'Ducentum' will not appear so harsh a change. I have spoken above at 10 30 on the frequency with which our Mss. interchange final *m* and *s* on account of some compendium not easy to distinguish : indeed *s* for *m* is more common than *m* for *s* : 5 13 *tantus* for *tantum* ; 64 126 *tristes* for *tristem* ; 384 *Nereus* for *Heroum* ; 49 7 *patronus* O, *patronum* G ; 55 1 *molestus es* V for *molestum est* : therefore I incline to keep in 39 9 the old correction *monendus es* for *monendum est*, and not to read *te est* or *est te* with the later editors. From the unmeaning *ducentus* it would be an easy step to *disertus* : I might give fifty instances of *c* and *s* confused in V, or else in G or O : *dissidium* for *discidium* ; *disserpunt* for *discerpunt* ; *illos* for *illoc*, *quisquam* for *quicquam* ; *pectus* for *pestis* ; *scis* for *sis* ; *simus* for *sci-*

mus etc. etc. and so with *n* and *r*: *nide*, *nisi* for *ride*, *risi*, *uertur* for *uenter*; *berue* (? bere)ⁿ for *bene*; *iuuerit* G, *inuenit* O; *ab rupto* G, *abin nupto* O; *externata* O, *extenuata* G; etc.

I am induced to think of 'ducentum' chiefly because it seems likely that Horace, od. iv 1 15 *Et centum puer artium*, had our verse in his mind. He uses naturally in an ode the more stately 'centum' for an indefinitely large number, whereas Catullus would employ the *ducenti* of common life, which we find no fewer than five times in Horace's satires. 'Ducentum' may be either the gen. plural, which occurs also in Varro; or else the indeclinable *ducentum*, which is found in Lucilius more than once and elsewhere. The *trecentos* of v. 10 is to my mind rather in its favour than against it.

In v. 14 there can be no question that the old correction 'ex Hiberis' for 'exhibere' is true; but I would remark, as an interesting confirmation of this, that Catullus' great admirer Martial twice, iv 55 8 and x 65 3, ends a hendecasyllable in the same way with the words 'ex Hiberis'. 5 *quamuis sordida cet.*: Catullus himself once again has *quamuis* in this sense: 103 2 *esto quamuis saeuus et indomitus*.

From the joint testimony of Tacitus (dial. 34) and of Jerome, that is of Suetonius, we may assume that Pollio was born in 76 B. c. It is strange that scholars like Lachmann and Haupt should have taken no account of this well-attested date, when they fixed 76 for the year of Catullus' birth. Catullus could not have spoken of Pollio in the way he does, if their ages were the same. The poet must have been a grown up man when he thus wrote of Pollio. Ellis draws attention to this point

in p. XLVI of his commentary. I had argued this question in a letter now before me which I wrote to Professor Sellar more than a year before the appearance of Ellis' volume, having indeed noted it down many years ago: I advert to this fact solely for the confirmation thus afforded by two independent testimonies in a case in which scholars like Lachmann and Haupt are concerned.

Schwabe (p. 300) assigns this and the following poem to about 60 B.C. on grounds probable enough. Pollio would be then about 16, and we cannot I should say think of him as younger than 16 or 17¹: the Paulus Maximus whom Horace terms 'centum puer artium' must have been quite 20, the age too of Marcellus whom Virgil calls both 'puer' and 'iuuenis'. Horace and Virgil however, when they so wrote, were much older men than Catullus. But with the Romans 'puer' and 'iuuenis' were both of them very elastic terms, like the French 'garçon'.

From the manner in which Catullus in several poems speaks of Veranius and Fabullus, it is clear that they were intimate associates of one another and dear friends of his. They were young men, probably of equestrian rank, belonging either to equestrian or senatorian families. One would infer from 9 4 that the father of Veranius was already dead. What they were about during their joint sojourn in Spain Catullus does not tell us. They may have been on the staff of a provincial governor, or they may have been engaged in one or other of the many lucrative employments of which the Equites had the monopoly in the provinces, among

¹ This by the way is another indication that Asinius Marrucinus was the elder brother, as he would not, if he were the younger, have been allowed at so tender an age to frequent the parties of grown men.

the wealthiest of which in this age were the Spains. There was so little opening at this time in Rome itself for needy men of family—and it would seem from what Catullus says in the 47th poem that these youths were needy—that they flocked to the provinces, and to Spain as much as any, since it was both wealthy and easily reached from Rome. A few years after this, in B.C. 57, at the very same time that Catullus was with his propraetor Memmius in Bithynia, they were again together on the staff of L. Piso Caesoninus proconsul of Macedonia, so well known to us by the embittered invective of Cicero.

At least I had believed that Schwabe had triumphantly demonstrated that this Piso and no other could be the one in question, so precisely do times and circumstances fit together, so exactly do the few lines in which Catullus depicts him agree with the more elaborate portrait which Cicero draws. But Ellis has broached a novel theory, which is one of the oddest instances I know of straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel; a theory which carries havock into many of the facts and dates in Catullus' life which Schwabe has established and to which Ellis himself apparently gives credit. I shall here be brief, as I feel certain that Ellis will not find one scholar to back him up in his argument. His sole difficulty in accepting Schwabe's statement arises from the fact that Veranius and Fabullus would in that case have made two journeys together; to my mind the simplest thing in the world. He argues therefore for the following combination. There was a Gnaeus Piso, an accomplice of Catiline, whom the senate, to rid themselves of a very dangerous man, sent out to Hispania Citerior in 65 with the unusual title of Quaestor pro Praetore. He was murdered there

by his native escort before the summer of 64¹. This man Schwabe just mentions, to point out that he could not be the Piso in question. But Ellis maintains on the contrary that Veranius and Fabullus went with him as members of his cohort. Yes, but they were with their Piso at the same time that Catullus was in Bithynia with his praetor Memmius². And as Memmius was Praetor in 58, he must have gone to his province as Propraetor in 57, at the time Piso Caesoninus went as Proconsul to Macedonia. No, Ellis argues, at the same time that Cn. Piso was specially sent by the senate as Quaestor pro Praetore, Memmius may have been sent with the same extraordinary title to Bithynia. But it was a most unusual thing for the senate or people to send any one out with this exceptional title. The strange case of Cato who was dispatched to Cyprus in 58 through Clodius' intrigues, and the earlier one of Lentulus Marcellinus commissioned to settle the affairs of the Cyrenaica, are the only two instances besides that of Cn. Piso which Marquardt (*Handb.* 2^d ed. I p. 390) can cite during the existence of the Republic. Why then should Memmius be selected for such a distinction? why, if he had been so selected, should we never hear of it? how could such an appointment be made at the very time when Pompey was exercising supreme power over all the East by virtue of the Manilian law?

But Ellis (p. 1) has another hypothesis at command: 'Or again he may have been appointed directly by Pompeius, as Marius left his quaestor Sulla "pro praetore" (*Iug.* 103), as Trebonius', etc. But in the

¹ See Mommsen in *Hermes* I p. 47.

² C. Memmius L. f. Galeria had no cognomen; yet Ellis persists in calling him G. Memmius Gemellus. Again C. not G. is the symbol of Gaius, as Cn. is of Gnaeus.

three instances mentioned here by Ellis, as well as in that of Albinus (Sall. Jug. 36) who goes off to Rome 'Aulo fratre in castris pro praetore relicto', the governor or general having died in office or being called away by a sudden emergency, by the necessity of the case his quaestor for the time being takes his place. But this cannot apply to Memmius; for Catullus (28 7) distinctly states that he went out in his suite from Rome: 'qui meum secutus Praetorem': *secutus*, like the prose *prosecutus*, has this meaning: Mart. VII 45 5 'Hunc tu per Siculas secutus undas' is the same as ib. 44 5 'Aequora per Scyllae magnus comes exulis isti, Qui modo nolueras consulis ire comes'. And it would have been absurd for Catullus to assail as he does a mere subordinate, and not their common chief Pompeius, on whom the blame would rest, if blame there was.

But if we adopt Ellis' theory, what results do we obtain? The Pollio of our poem would be a child of eleven or twelve years of age, to whom such an appeal as Catullus here makes could not possibly be addressed. But, more than this, the whole fabric which Schwabe has built up with so much pains and learning, is shaken to its foundations, in portions of it too which Ellis appears to accept. In his later volume, tho' he had doubted it in his earlier, he admits the theory, which I too firmly believe in, that Lesbia is the notorious Clodia. One of the main props of this theory is the assumption that the fierce invectives, launched at Rufus for pretending to be the poet's intimate friend and then robbing him of what was dearer to him than life, must have reference to the intrigue of M. Caelius Rufus with Clodia 59 and 58 B.C. about which Cicero in his speech for Caelius gives us such copious information. In 59 therefore and perhaps later Catullus, tho' he had lost

his esteem for Lesbia, was still inflamed with the full fervour of his consuming passion. Turn now to the 65th and to both parts of the 68th poem. In these we find Catullus bitterly lamenting the recent death of his brother; and from both divisions of 68 we learn that he had not yet lost his passion for Lesbia, tho' he was fully aware of her inconstancy to him. Some time, probably a year or two, after this, either on his way to Bithynia, as Ellis argues; or on his return from it, as Schwabe holds—and I am disposed to agree with the latter, because, as I observed above, I believe that Catullus went from Rome to Bithynia in the praetor's suite—the poet stopped at Rhoeteum to perform the last offices for his dead brother. Before his journey to Bithynia he had utterly renounced Lesbia as a common harlot and streetwalker: *Nunc in quadriuiis et angiportis cet.* If therefore he went to his province at the beginning of 65, he must have assailed his dearest friend with insult and outrage for robbing him of his life's happiness at least six years after the time when he had finally cast her off as an abandoned strumpet.

I will say no more on these questions, as I regret the length to which my remarks have already run; but I could not make my meaning clear in fewer words.

Of the six poems between the 12th and the 22nd I have not much to say. The industry of the latest editor Ellis has anticipated me in most of the illustrations which I had jotted down, especially from the old scenic writers, from Cicero and Martial.

13 14 *Totum ut te faciant, Fabulle, nasum*: with reference to Ellis' note I would observe that this adverbial use of *totum*, which belongs equally to *te* and *nasum*, 'to make you wholly' 'nothing but' 'nose', is

exceedingly common in Latin. Above at 8 14 *rogaberis nulla* I have referred to my note on Lucr. i 377 where I have given abundant examples. I might give here as many more ; such as Cic. (Caelius) epist. VIII 8 10 Curio se contra eum totum parat ; IX 16 8 neque est quod in promulside spei ponas aliquid, quam totam sustuli ; XI 29 2 totum te ad amicitiam meam contulisti ; XVI 12 6 ut...totum te susciperet et tueretur ; ad Q. fr. II 10 (12) 3 multa dixi in ignobilem regem quibus totus est explosus. quo genere commotus, ut dixi, Appius totum me amplexatur...sed ille scripsit ad Balbum fasciculum illum...totum sibi aqua madidum redditum esse ; Suet. Caes. 46 uillam...quia non tota ad animum ei responderat, totam diruisse : very like Catullus is Martial XII 84 3 Talis eras, modo tonse Pelops, positisque nitebas Crinibus, ut totum sponsa uideret ebur.

14 12—20

Di magni, horribilem et sacrum libellum,
quem tu scilicet ad tuum Catullum
misti, continuo ut die periret

15 Saturnalibus optimo dierum !

non non hoc tibi, salse, sic abibit :

nam, si luxerit, ad librariorum
curram scrinia, Caesios, Aquinos,
Suffenum omnia colligam uenena,

20 ac te his suppliciis remunerabor.

14 *continuo* can only have the sense it so often has in the old idiomatic writers : 'at once without an interval, straight on end' : Cic. Verr. IV 48 ille continuo ut uidit non dubitauit illud...tollere. Calvus sent it

on the morning of the Saturnalia, to poison at once the poet's happiness. With the apposition comp., besides the excellent illustration quoted by Ellis, Livy xxx 39 8 Cerealia ludos dictator et magister equitum ex senatus consulto fecerunt; and Virgil's 'aras Ecce duas tibi, Daphni, duas altaria Phoebos': with the position of the words Mart. x 30 1 O temperatae dulce Formiae litus, and Virgil's 'Vina nouum fundam calathis Ariusia nectar'. 16 *salse* seems right; not *false*, as Baehrens reads: Hor. sat. i 9 65 male salsus Ridens dissimulare. In 19 both rhythm and sense in my judgment shew *Suffenum* to be the gen. plur. and not the sing. as Ellis now takes it to be with some other editors.

17 2 inepta: Cicero again and again in his Orator opposes *aptus* to *solutus*, *diffluens*, etc.: 228 quod multo maiorem habent apta uim quam soluta; 233 uidesne ut...ad nihilum omnia recidant, cum sint ex aptis dissoluta...Efficitur aptum illud, quod fuerit antea diffluens ac solutum. As then in the de orat. i 17 he defines *ineptus* as one who is not *aptus*, cannot *inepta* in Catullus be *non apta* i.e. *dissoluta*, *soluta*?

21 meus stupor: Petron. 62 homo meus coepit ad stellas facere...iacebat miles meus in lecto tamquam bouis; 63 baro autem noster: with this we may comp. 13 6 uenuste noster, tho' that is friendly banter.

21 1 Aureli, pater esuritionum: A curious expression; but I would refer to Mart. xii 53 6 which is just as singular and obscure: Sed causa, ut memoras et ipse iactas, Dirae filius es rapacitatis. Ecquid tu fatuos rudesque quaeris, Illudas quibus auferasque mentem? Huic semper uitio pater fuisti. 7 nam insidias mihi instruentem Tangam te prior: Tho' the two words for

a well-known reason might easily be confused in Mss. and tho' 'struere insidias' is the more usual phrase, yet I would not with Ribbeck and Baehrens read here *stru-entem*: all the editors leave untouched in Livy vi 23 6 quem insidiis instruendis locum? XXIII 35 14 et inter id instruendae fraudi intentior.

9 atque id si faceres satur, tacerem :
nunc ipsum id doleo quod esurire
me me puer et sitire discet.

Of the corrupt *Me me* of v. 11 many corrections have been made. Both the *Mellitus* of Ellis and the *Tenellus* of Baehrens seem to me improbable, first for diplomatic reasons, next because to my mind they strike a false chord, not in unison with the rest of the poem. Keeping in view 9 id si faceres satur, tacerem: I think 'A te mei puer' would be a correction simple in itself and excellently suited to the context: so 77 3 *mei* V.

22

Suffenus iste, Vare, quem probe nosti,
homo est uenustus et dicax et urbanus
idemque longe plurimos facit uersus.
puto esse ego illi milia aut decem aut plura
5 perscripta, nec sic ut fit in palimpsesto
relata: cartae regiae, noui libri,
noui umbilici, lora rubra, membranae.
d directa plumbo et pumice omnia aequata
haec cum legas tu, bellus ille et urbanus
10 Suffenus unus caprimulgus aut fossor
rursus uidetur: tantum abhorret ac mutat.
hoc quid putemus esse? qui modo scurra

aut siquid hac re tersius uidebatur,
idem infaceto est infacetior rure,
15 simul poemata attigit; neque idem umquam
aeque est beatus ac poema cum scribit:
tam gaudet in se tamque se ipse miratur.
nimirum idem omnes fallimur, neque est quisquam
quem non in aliqua re uidere Suffenum
20 possis: suus cuique attributus est error,
sed non uidemus, manticae quod in tergo est.

5 palimpsestos *Baehrens*. palimpsestum *Heinsius*. palimpseston *Lachmann*.
7 membranae. membrana all editors who join it with what follows. 13 tersius
scripsi. tristius V. tritius uulgo.

Besides reprinting below what I had written in the Journal of Philology on v. 13, I have to discuss some other points, which seem to me not unimportant, in this very bright and witty poem. 3: Mart. x 76 6 cuius unum est, Sed magnum uitium, quod est poeta. 4 *Baehrens* reads 'ad decem'; but 'aut—aut' = aut—aut etiam: so 68 131 Aut nihil aut paulo = aut certe paulo: comp. with our passage Cic. phil. 13 2 si aut cuius aut homo habendus. We have the full form in Cic. Verr. iv 14 homines qui aut non minoris aut etiam pluris emerint; Ov. her. 14 41 Aut sic aut etiam tremui magis, and often. 5 in palimpsesto *Relata*: this can scarcely be Latin: in the passage, which *Ellis* after *Hand* cites from Cicero, no editor I think would retain 'in codice' with 'in codices' and 'in codicem' almost in the same sentence. *Baehrens*' *palimpsestos* is perhaps to be preferred to the singular. *Relata* seems genuine; else 'in palimpsesto *Artata*' would not be a harsh correction: 25 11 *insula* V for *inusta*: 'T et I et L haud raro permutantur' *Baehrens* p. XLIV. Mart. i 2 3 Hos eme, quos artat breuib. membrana tabellis; XII 5 1

Longior undecimi nobis decimique libelli Artatus labor est; XIV 190 Pellibus exiguis artatur Liuius ingens.

6 Everything is on the grandest scale, reams of royal papyrus, new *uolumina* or rolls made up from this papyrus: see Ellis. 7, when a single roll is in question, *umbilicus* in the sing. is used to denote the wooden cylinder with projecting bosses; or *umbilici* in the plur. to signify the ornamental bosses at each end. As several rolls are spoken of here, it is uncertain which of the two meanings the word has. The meaning of 'lora rubra' is not clear: with Ellis I should have taken them to be some sort of fastening for the *uolumen*: Marquardt v pt 2, p. 396, says they are the *index* attached to the roll: Et cocco rubeat superbus index. Then *membranae* are the parchment wrappers, one for each of the *libri* or *uolumina*, coloured generally with purple, sometimes with saffron: besides the passages cited by Ellis see the locus classicus at the beginning of the *Tristia*: 5 Nec te purpureo uelent uaccinia fuco; Mart. I 117 16 purpuraque cultum. Martial had this line and its rhythm in his mind when he wrote I 66 11 Nec umbilicis cultus atque membrana: he has the singular because he is speaking of a single roll: Catullus has the plural because he is speaking of more than one. In neither is there any epithet, as the wrapper was understood to be ornamental in itself.

But now I come to the point, on account of which I have dwelt at such length on this locus classicus for the history of an ancient book. To my abiding amazement every editor from the poet's fellow townsman, old Auantius of Verona, in January 1502 down to the very latest brings hopeless confusion into our passage by changing the *membranae* of Mss. to *membrana* and joining the word on with what follows. Let us see: Ellis

in his copious commentary takes *membrana* to be the wrapper of the roll; and it can of course have no other meaning; for in Catullus' days the Romans used only papyrus, never parchment, for a regular *liber* or *uolumen*. Books made up like ours and written on parchment seem to have come into use about Martial's time; and even if they had been known to Catullus, to take the word here in this sense would make nonsense of the context. Now, that *plumbo* denotes the small round plate of lead which, instead of pencil or stylus, the ancients employed with a *regula* to rule straight lines along the page, we all know: see Rich s. v. and Beckman whom he cites. Ellis quotes nine passages from the Greek anthology to illustrate the word and concludes that 'Derecta plumbo' is a condensed expression for 'plumbo notata lineis ductis ad regulam'. But not one syllable does he say as to the purpose or the meaning of scoring over these purple or saffron-coloured wrappers with 'lineis ductis ad regulam'; nor do I believe any explanation can be given.

Well, and what then are the 'pumice omnia aequata'? *omnia* must include all the objects mentioned in 6 and 7. Thus Suffenus, after getting his bright-painted bosses, his scarlet *lora*, his purple wrappers, must have employed his pumice it would appear to scrub them clean of all their ornament, in this shewing himself indeed 'infaceto infacetior rure'.

Tho' Auantius, Guarinus, Statius, Muretus, Scaliger, Graevius, Vossius, Doeringius, Silligius, Lachmannus, Hauptius, Rossbachius, Schwabius, Muellerus, Ellisius, Baehrensium, are there to check my presumption, I feel no doubt that v. 8 is to be joined with what follows: 'When you read these thousands of verses, kept so straight by the lead and evened all with

pumice, yon fine and well-bred gentleman Suffenus turns out a common hind or ditcher'. If the arrangement of the sentence be called in question, I would refer to my note on Lucr. v 789 where I have given 5 like passages from him: take iv 430 *Tecta solo iungens atque omnia dextera laevis Donec in obscurum coni conduxit acumen*: take too Cat. 66 65 *Virginis et saeui contingens namque leonis*.

8 pumice om. aeq.: the precise import of these words may be questioned; but in all the Latin passages which Ellis cites here, and in 1 2 'pumice expolitum', he has mistaken the meaning. In these, as well as in Ov. trist. ii 1 13 *Quod neque sum cedro flauus nec pumice levis*; Mart. i 66 10 *pumicata fronte si quis est nondum*; 117 16 *Rasum pumice*, there is no reference whatever to preparing the papyrus for writing. They one and all mean that after the *uolumen* was completed and rolled up, both ends of the closed roll were smoothed and polished with pumice: Ovid's '*geminae poliantur pumice frontes*' shews this clearly; but so do the other passages, tho' not so directly, as in most of them it accompanies their receiving their purple cover. In our passage the words I think mean that after the verses had been all fairly written out on their ruled lines, the pumice was applied to remove all inequalities in the writing, all blots, portions of ill-made letters and the like. For we must remember that in ancient writing the pen used was coarse and thick, the letters were large and irregular compared with our print. For the contrary case of blots being left from neglect comp. Prop. v 3 3 *Siqua tamen tibi lecturo pars oblita derit, Haec erit e lacrimis facta litura meis*; Ov. her. 11 1 *Siqua tamen caecis errabunt scripta lituris, Oblitus a dominae caede libellus erit*; trist i 1 13 *Neue litura-*

rum pudeat cet.; III 1 15 Littera suffusas quod habet maculosa lituras, Laesit opus lacrimis ipse poeta suum. Suffenus would not neglect his blots.

It can hardly I think refer to the previous smoothing of the papyrus, by which the letters would lie more smoothly on the surface. Ellis says 'the inequalities of surface produced by the fibres of the papyrus were removed by pumice stone'. This may have been so, tho' he gives no authority for his statement, his citations, as I have said, referring to something totally different. Pumice was applied indeed in subsequent ages to prepare parchment for writing, as I find in a passage of Hildebert of Tours, the reference to which I have got from the English Cyclopaedia: sermo xv col. 733 ed. 1708 'Scitis quid scriptor solet facere: primo cum rasorio pergamenum purgare de pinguedine et sordes magnas auferre; deinde cum pumice pilos et neruos omnino abstergere. quod si non faceret, littera imposita nec ualeret nec diu durare posset. postea regulam apponit cet.'

As so much has been written at various times on the Ancient Book and as the above passage is a 'locus classicus' on the subject and as the alteration, first made by Auantius and adopted after him by every editor down to the present day, has introduced no small amount of confusion into the question, I have not hesitated to discuss the matter with some, tho' I hope not unreasonable, prolixity. I shall be surprised and mortified if I be thought not to have established the main points of my argument: I have external Ms. authority, I believe I have also intrinsic truth and reason, on my side. I will add a few more remarks, which may be looked on as supplementary to Ellis' copious commentary.

9 cum legas tu: this use of the 2nd pers. sing. potent. is so common and has been illustrated by me elsewhere at such length, that I will just cite here, merely because he chances to use the same word, Mart. II 27 Laudantem Selium cenae cum retia tendit Accipe, siue legas siue patronus agas. 10 unus caprimulgus: this use of *unus*, taken it would seem from the conversational idiom of common life and so characteristical of the manner of Catullus, has been illustrated so copiously by Holtze I p. 412, Wagner aulul. 563 and others, that, tho' I have collected examples from authors of various ages, I will quote only one passage from the antiquarian Arnobius, because when he wrote it he may have had our passage in his thoughts, and because I want to bring him forward again in support of a reading in the next poem: Adu. nat. IV 35 in bubulci unius amplexum.

11 tantum abhorret ac mutat: 'so unlike himself, so altered is he' Ellis, who then gives many illustrations of this very common intransitive sense of *mutat*, and I could add many more. But he does not supply a single example of *abhorret* for *abhorret a se*; and this needed illustration much more than *mutat* did; and I am unable to offer any, tho' this would seem to be the meaning called for. Comparing Cic. de orat. II 85 sin plane abhorrebit et erit absurdus; and Livy XXX 44 6 qui tamen [risus] nequaquam adeo est intemptius, quam uestrae istae absurdae atque abhorrentes lacrimae sunt: I would ask whether, as in those two passages, so here too *abhorret* may not be synonymous with *absurdus est*. 13 tersius: I reprint below my former paper in favour of *tersius* (or, *tertius*), which I feel little doubt is what the poet wrote. Baehrens has adopted the same reading: Ellis does not condescend

to notice it, but sticks to the old correction *tritius*, tho' he brings nothing in support of it but the 'tritae aures', which I tried to shew was nothing to the point. 14 rure, 12 modo scurra, 2 urbanus : Plaut. most. 15 Tu urbanus uero scurra, deliciae popli, Rus mihi tu obiectas? 21 manticae quod in tergo est : 'the half of the wallet which is on his back' : Livy III 14 3 iuniores, id maxime quod Caesonis sodalium fuit; XXI 52 2 quod inter Trebiam Padumque agri est; XXII 4 1 quod agri est inter Cortonam urbem Trasumennumque lacum; XXX 20 5 quod roboris in exercitu erat; Aen. IX 274 campi quod rex habet ipse Latinus; Lucr. IV 372 quod liquimus eius; Ter. heaut. 1048 quod dotis dixi.

[Reprinted from the Journal of Philology, vol. 5 p. 305]

22 12 and 13

Scurra has the same meaning here which it has in Plautus : a townbred fine gentleman, the opposite of one brought up in the *infacetum rus* : 'Urbani assidui cives quos scurras uocant'; 'Tu urbanus uero scurra, deliciae popli, Rus mihi tu obiectas'. The 'homo uenustus et dicax et urbanus' of v. 2, and the 'bellus ille et urbanus' of 9 are expressions synonymous with *scurra* : [Cic. pro Quinct. 11 nam neque parum facetus scurra Sex. Naeuius neque inhumanus praeco est unquam existimatus :...libertate usus est quo impunius dicax esset]. Compare too Pliny epist. IV 25 3, who is imitating Catullus, though the *scurriliter* there has at the same time the bad sense which it afterwards acquired : quid hunc putamus domi facere, qui in tanta

re tam serio tempore tam scurriliter ludat, qui denique in senatu dicax et urbanus est? It is plain from the whole context that the *tristius* of manuscripts in our passage is quite out of place, and nearly all critics and editors have adopted Pontanus' conjecture *tritius*. But *tritius* seems to me hardly more appropriate than *tristius*: at first sight the 'tritae aures' of Cicero might appear somewhat in point; but that only means 'ears much practised' on some subject. The *scurra* is the very opposite of what is trite and commonplace. The latest editor Mueller is not satisfied with *tritius*, and reads *scitius*.

There is a word which seems to me exactly suited to the context and, when rightly explained, as near perhaps to the manuscript reading as *tritius*. Lexicons quote from Quintilian 'iudicium acre tersumque'; 'elegiae tersus atque elegans auctor'; and the like from him and others. He uses too the comparative: 'multum eo est tersior ac purus magis Horatius'. Nonius quotes Varro and Cato for the older form *tertus*. Thus Lucretius has *fictus* for *fixus*, and *artus*, *fartus*, *sartus*, *tortus* always retained the *t*. Catullus then wrote, I believe, *tertius*, and *s* was written over the *t* to explain the meaning: thus *tertius* would readily pass into *tristius*.

23 7—11

Nec mirum: bene nam ualetis omnes,
pulcre concoquitis, nihil timetis,
non incendia, non graues ruinas,
non furta impia, non dolos ueneni,
non casus alios periculorum.

This poem, of which I have quoted 5 out of 27 lines, tho' its subject leaves no room for the highest qualities of Catullus' poetry, is a most finished and witty specimen of light and airy banter, of easy yet vigorous versification. This Furius and Aurelius, the companion with whom he is joined in the 11th and 16th poems, are among the most enigmatical of all the associates whom Catullus commemorates. They would appear to have been needy men, more or less parasites and dependents of Catullus among others, yet at the same time with some pretensions to fashion and breeding: in the next poem Furius is called a 'bellus homo' or fine gentleman. Why were they selected in the memorable 11th poem to carry the poet's last message to Lesbia? was it because that poem, probably one of his latest and written with direct reference to the 51st, perhaps his very earliest, was designed in this point too to stand in glaring contrast with the other? were Furius then and Aurelius to carry the 11th poem to Lesbia, because M. Tullius Cicero had carried to her the 51st?

I am somewhat surprised, and an accomplished scholar has likewise expressed to me his surprise, at the interpretation which Ellis has put on this 23rd poem. 'The attack' he says 'is unusually fierce even from Catullus and we may doubt whether the object of its unsparing sarcasm ever forgave the injury'. 'Even to one familiar with Catullus' habit of assaulting his most intimate friends most violently, and who had himself experienced something of this scurrility in 16, the personalities of 23 must have seemed to go beyond the licence naturally conceded to poets; they could not be treated as merely jocose'. Elsewhere, p. 376, he places this poem among the three or four coarsest of all that Catullus has written. I regard it in a much more in-

nocuous light: I can fancy Furius taking it philosophically enough and being more than consoled by a dinner or a sum of money much smaller than he asks for at the end of our poem. However, as I have said, he is to me an enigmatical personage, and many people no doubt would find the poet's banter offensive enough.

To come now to the verses which I have quoted above: in 10 Haupt's *furta* seems to me a certain correction, just as in 68 140 I take the generally accepted *furta* to be a certain correction of the *facta* of V: see Haupt quaest. Cat. p. 9—12, who well supports his emendation. But I would likewise call in the antiquarian Arnobius IV 28 praecellere in furtorum dolis: these words may very well be a reminiscence of 'Non furta impia, non dolos ueneni', as his 'unius bubulci' a few chapters later may recall the 'unus caprimulgus' of the preceding poem. Why should not this constant imitator of Lucretius occasionally have the contemporary Catullus in his thoughts? Take too Seneca Agam. 673 (708) Non quae tectis Bistonis ales Residens summis impia diri Furta mariti garrula deflet: the fact that Seneca here is on quite another topic rather strengthens the supposition that he had Catullus' 'furta impia' in his mind, the more so that just before he may have been thinking of some other verses of Catullus, 65 12—14, as well as of Virgil; and most certainly a few lines below 'fluctu leuiter plangente sonent', he had in his thoughts Cat. 64 273 leuiterque sonant plangore cachinni, confirming O and Baehrens against nearly all recent editors.

11 casus alios periculorum: besides Cicero quoted by Doering, comp. Cic. epist. v 16 5 casum incommodorum tuorum; bell. Alex. 7 1 ut ad extremum casum periculi omnes deducti uiderentur; bell. Gall. VIII 34 1

similem casum obsessionis; Suet. Claud. 25 ad arcendos incendiorum casus. In the last line 'sat es beatus' is surely a certain correction for 'satis beatus' of Mss.: Ellis should not in his first volume have adopted Bergk's 'beatu's': this archaic elision of the vowel in *es* and *est* together with that of *s* in the preceding word was unknown to Cicero and Lucretius even, who yet elide the final *s* so much more freely than Catullus does. I much doubt whether even Lucilius admitted such a licence.

[Reprinted from the Journal of Philology, vol. 5 p. 306]

25 4—7

Idemque Thalle turbida rapacior procella,
cum diua mulier arios (*or aries, or aues*) ostendit osci-
tantes,
remitte pallium mihi meum, quod inuolasti,
sudariumque Saetabum catagraphosque Thynos.

The second line in this extract is one of the most desperate in Catullus: fifty conjectures have been made by critics and editors, old and recent; not one of which I believe has found much acceptance. All the explanations of *diua* for instance strike me as thoroughly unsatisfactory. Though I do not think that the conjecture I am going to offer is likely to be received with more approbation than former ones, I yet venture to give it, in the hope that it may perhaps present the question in a new light. This then is what I propose:

Conclaue com uicarios ostendit oscitantes.

What suggested the reading to my mind was first the very common substitution in manuscripts of *d* for *cl* as

in Catullus 7 5 *ora dum* for *oraclum*; 68 43 *sedis* for *saeclis*; and next the frequency with which our archetype confuses *a* and *co*; many instances of which confusion I have given in p. 23 of the third number of our journal. Thus *conclaueco* might pass into *condaue*, *com diue*; and then *muicarios* into *mulierarios* or something else that looked like Latin.

Conclauē was a room that could be locked up, if necessary, and might be used for a storeroom, a bedroom, a diningroom, or the like. The *uicarii*, who are often spoken of by writers and in inscriptions, were the slaves of slaves and were employed in any menial capacity. Probably then at some feast these *uicarii* would have charge of such articles as are mentioned here, and when they were off their guard, Thallus would take the opportunity of pouncing upon the things in question. It has always seemed to me more probable that they should be stolen in such a way as this, than taken from the person of their owner.

On the above verse more conjectures appear to have been made than on any other line in Catullus: Schwabe records eleven, which exhibit the most astonishing diversity of meaning and language. Ellis and Baehrens add to the number. By the way I do not know whether Ellis can support his *gāuias*: my feeling and impression are certainly for *gāuias*; but as I have no evidence one way or the other, I will not argue the question. I have ventured to reprint what I wrote some years ago; because it strikes out a new sense and situation, different from those given by any of the other multitudinous conjectures. But I feel now, as indeed I felt at

the time, that my reading is far too venturesome, especially in tampering with the genuine-looking 'Cum diua'. It seems clear from the Fasti Maffeiani, Dec. 21, C. I. L. I p. 307 and the Fasti Praenestini, Dec. 21, with Mommsen's supplements, C. I. L. I p. 319, that the mysterious Angerona, with mouth closed and sealed, who knew and must not reveal the hidden name of Rome, might be called *Diua*: comp. with this Pliny III 65 non alienum uidetur inserere hoc loco exemplum religionis antiquae, ob hoc maxime silentium institutae. namque diua Angerona, cui sacrificatur a. d. XII kal. Ian., ore obligato obsignatoque simulacrum habet: comp. too Macrob. sat. I 10 7 and Ianus' note. Adhering therefore to the general sense of what I have proposed above, I would suggest

Cum Diua mi [or, iam] uicarios ostendit oscitantes.

But when O and G are examined, it would appear that *aries* is the oldest form of the corruption, and that *aves*, *alios*, *arios* are rude attempts to correct. I assume then that (except *ostendet* for *ostendit*) the words *mulier aries* alone call for emendation, and I still believe that the oscitancy of servants and not of guests is referred to, as all the property stolen is Catullus' own. No one seems to have thought of the goddess Murcia, and yet she would be in point: August. ciu. dei IV 16 deam Murciam quae praeter modum non moueret ac faceret hominem, ut ait Pomponius, murcidum, id est nimis desidiosum et inactuosum. I don't know what might be thought of the following attempt:

Cum diua Murcia atrieis ostendit oscitantes.

Comp. too Arnob. IV 9 quis [praesidem] segnium Murcidam: so the sole codex: *Murciam* Sabaeus. In Catullus *atrieis* is a very simple correction for *aries*:

I have observed already on 10 32 with what exceeding frequency his Mss. confuse *r* and *t*: let me here mention, as most in point, 36 12 *uriosq*; O *utriosq*; G, with 'al *uriosq*;' written above; 14 18 *Curram*. *Curā* O *Cur tam* G; 66 4 *certis* G *ceteris* O; 63 27 *Attis*. *atris* V; 12 1 *Marrucine*. *Matrucine* V: *es* for *eis* I need not illustrate. From whatever part of the house *Thallus* stole these things, whether it were the dining-room or another chamber or the *Atrium* itself, he would have to pass thro' this *Atrium* to get to the door, and in it servants would naturally be posted to observe what was doing.

As our passage is so notorious a Catullian crux, I will not hesitate to quote nearly the whole of *Martial* VIII 59. The epigram is upon a thievish guest, and *Martial* could hardly fail, when writing on a similar subject, to remember one whom he loved so dearly and knew so well as *Catullus*.

Aspicias hunc uno contentum lumine....

5 *hunc tu conuiuiam cautus seruare memento:*

tunc furit atque oculo luscus utroque uidet.

pocula solliciti perdunt ligulasque ministri

et latet in tepido plurima mappa sinu.

lapsa nec a cubito subducere pallia nescit

10 *et tectus laenis saepe duabus abit.*

nec dormitantem uernam fraudare lucerna

erubuit fallax, ardeat illa licet.

si nihil inuasit, puerum tunc arte dolosa

circuit et soleas surripit ipse suas.

If our poem was in *Martial's* thoughts when he wrote this epigram, we might fancy from v. 9 that he supposed the *pallium* to have been stolen from *Catullus's* person. But then v. 11 might well be a reference to

some such reading as I have given to Catullus. What the 'catagraphi Thyni' were I have not the least notion; but the poem seems to imply that all the articles were stolen at the same time, and it is not likely that they were all taken from Catullus' person or even from the dining-room. I cannot help feeling that the 'Si nihil inuasit' of v. 13 is a reminiscence of our 'quod inuolasti', the force of the two expressions is so similar. If the 'oscitantes' be the guests, one might suggest 'Murcia ebrios': *ebrios* first becoming *eurios*.

12 *minuta*: a popular homely word, like so many others found in Catullus. Besides Cicero's '*minuta nauigia*', I have noted down from Plautus '*curculiunculos minutos*', Terence '*pisciculos minutos*', Vitruvius '*minutum theatrum*': in the *Bellum Africae* and the *Bellum Hisp.*, both written in a very plebeian style, I have found 6 or 7 instances of '*minutus*' or '*minutatim*'. The latter Virgil admits once in imitation of Lucretius; but very many writers reject the word entirely. If the examples too which are given in the lexicons be examined, it will be found I think that the writers employ a homely plebeian style; or else Cicero, like Catullus, is either adopting the popular style, as in his letters to Atticus, or is using the word in a disparaging contemptuous sense. Hence, as in so many analogous cases, *bellus* and *pulcher* for instance, while *paruus* has disappeared, we find *minuto*, *menu*, etc. in the different Romance languages.

26

1 The *uestra* of O and *nostra* of G leave us uncertain which reading was in V. Baehrens follows O; Ellis argues for *nostra*; while Schwabe, tho' unac-

quainted with O, prefers to take *uostra* even on conjecture. Furius is so shadowy a personage and I am so unable to decide how much or how little truth there may be in Catullus' banter, that I feel reluctant to pronounce a decided opinion one way or the other. But on the whole my feeling is for *uestra*, as I think that Catullus, tho' he would readily jest with a dear friend like Fabullus on his own poverty (as in 13 8), would be more likely to jeer at a butt like Furius for his lack of means (as he does in 23), than to expose his own. Catullus' contemporary Furius Bibaculus, a poet too of the same school, who elsewhere laughs at the famous grammarian Valerius Cato for his abject poverty, writes a poem on Cato's mortgaged Tusculan villa, which depends, like our poem, wholly on a pun for its point:

Catonis modo, Galle, Tusculanum
 tota creditor urbe uenditabat.
 mirati sumus unicum magistrum,
 summum grammaticum, optimum poetam,
 omnes soluere posse quaestiones,
 unum deficere expedire nomen.
 en cor Zenodoti, en iecur Cratetis!

Whether we read *uestra* or *nostra*, our poem has probably some reference to the request of Furius referred to in 23 26.

27 3 and 4

Vt lex Postumiae iubet magistrae
 ebrioso acino ebriosioris.

In 4 O and G have *ebriose*: the letters *o* and *e* are so often interchanged in our Mss. that in V or some

predecessor of V they must have been almost indistinguishable. I have collected 50 instances and more of this confusion: not seldom, as we shall see, O rightly offers *e* where G perversely has *o*; from which it would follow that in V the two letters must often have been difficult to distinguish. I have touched upon this already at 6 9; and I shall have to recur to it again and again.

That, as G and O indicate, Catullus wrote 'Ebrioso acino' I have little doubt. Gellius VI 20 6 has a curious comment on this line. The Mss. of Gellius are very corrupt there; but Haupt (Ind. lect. aest. 1857: opusc. II p. 121) proves clearly that Gellius meant to say the genuine reading in Catullus was 'Ebria acina', with a pleasing hiatus of the two *α*'s; tho' some assigned to Catullus 'Ebriosa acina', others 'Ebrioso acino'. But, while Baehrens accepts 'Ebria acina' as the genuine reading, Haupt rejects it as a vain fancy of Gellius and reads with most of the Editors 'Ebriosa acina'. I doubt the existence of *acina* at all, and unhesitatingly follow the lead of our Mss. in the persuasion that Gellius is pursuing a mere chimerical crotchet with no more foundation for it in fact than for what he says of Virgil just before. I do not therefore look upon this verse as giving any indication that the text of Catullus, as found in our Mss., had been designedly tampered with in or before or after the time of Gellius: Gellius knew of the reading 'Ebrioso' as well as of 'Ebria'. Again in 37 18 I accept without demur the 'Cuniculosae' of V, in the belief that Priscian who twice quotes that verse, wrote down, through some odd negligence or hallucination, 'Celtiberosae Celtiberiae', and then in one of the two passages copied down what he had written in the other.

[Reprinted from the Journal of Philology, vol. 2 p. 2—34]

..... My present design is to examine at length and dissect a single poem of Catullus, the 29th, from a wish to abate some shameful scandals which have attached themselves to the fame of the greatest of the Romans, and at the same time to try to rescue from obloquy a humbler man, who yet appears to have been a most efficient servant to two of the first generals in history: perhaps also to mitigate our censure of Catullus himself who has propagated these scandals, by shewing that what looks like foul insult is three parts of it meant only in jest.

But first a word or two about the name and, what is of more importance for our immediate purpose, the date of the poet. The unadulterated testimony of manuscripts calls him merely Catullus Veronensis, but we know from Suetonius and others that his gentile name was Valerius. Though there has been more doubt about his praenomen, I thought that Schwabe had settled the question; but I see that Ellis regards it as still open. Jerome, copying Suetonius' words, names him Gaius Valerius Catullus, the word Gaius being written at full length, so as to preclude all possible error in the case of a writer whose Mss. are so very valuable and so independent as those of Jerome: a scarcely less weighty authority than Suetonius, Apuleius terms him in his *Apologia C. Catullus*: what is there to set against such overwhelming testimony? And yet Scaliger, Lachmann, Haupt, Mommsen and other distinguished scholars de-

cide for Quintus, mainly on the authority of a passage of Pliny, xxxvii 6 § 81. But there the best Mss. and the latest editor have Catullus, not Q. Catullus; and the Q. I wager will never appear in any future critical edition. In the other four places where he mentions the poet, Pliny calls him simply Catullus. But the important¹, though very late codex D designates him as Q. Catullus, and a few other less important Mss. have the Q.; but clearly D and the rest have taken this Q. from Pliny who was a most popular author when they were written; and the Q. got into the inferior codices of Pliny from a common confusion with Q. Catulus so often mentioned by him. As then Catullus was not at the same time both Gaius and Quintus, Scaliger's conjecture of *Quinte* for *qui te* in 67 12 can have no weight whatever against the convincing evidence of Suetonius and Apuleius, though it has been adopted by Lachmann, Haupt, Ellis and others: the poet always calls himself simply Catullus.

His age has to be decided by the testimony of Jerome, corrected by that offered by his own poems. Intense personal feeling, the *odi* or *amo* of the moment, characterises so many of Catullus' finest poems, that dates are of the greatest importance for rightly apprehending his meaning and allusions, much more so indeed than in the case of Horace's more artificial muse. Jerome under the year corresponding to B.C. 87 records his birth: 'Gaius Valerius Catullus scribtor lyricus Veronae nascitur': under that answering to B.C. 57 he says 'Catullus xxx aetatis anno Romae moritur'. Here I have little doubt that he has accurately taken down Suetonius' words in respect of the place of birth and

¹ [With my present knowledge, I should put 'worthless' in the place of 'important'.]

death and of the poet's age when he died. But, as so often happens with him, he has blundered somewhat in transferring to his complicated era the consulships by which Suetonius would have dated; for it is certain that many of the poems, and among them the one we are about to consider, were written after B.C. 57. Lachmann hit upon an escape from the difficulty which once approved itself to many: in 52 3 we have 'Per consulatum peierat Vatinius': now Vatinius was consul for a few days at the end of B.C. 47; and hence Lachmann infers that Catullus at all events was then living. He supposes therefore that Jerome has confounded the Cn. Octavius who was consul in 87 with one of the same name who was consul in 76; and that Catullus was born in 76 and died in 46. This is ingenious, but hardly can be true. Schwabe, following in the track of more than one scholar, has shewn that it is by no means necessary to assume that Catullus saw Vatinius consul. He has cited more than one most striking passage from Cicero to prove that this creature of Caesar and Pompey, marked out by them for future office, was in the habit of boasting of his consulship to come, as early as B.C. 56 or even 62: Catullus therefore in the line quoted need only mean that Vatinius used to say, 'as I hope to be consul, I swear it is so'; and the verse thus carries with it far more point. Again 76 is too late a date for his birth: it is plain that as early as 62, when he would thus be only 14 years old, he had become entangled with Lesbia, who was no other than the formidable Clodia, the Clytemnestra quadrantaria, the Medea of the Palatine¹. When the reference to

¹ [This date is disproved quite as decisively by 12 9, where Pollio, who was born in that very year or at the latest in 75, is spoken of as a *puer*: see my remarks on that poem.]

Vatinius has been explained as above, we find that several of his most personal poems allude to events which took place in 55 and 54: this will be seen more in detail when we come to consider our 29th poem: but the latest event which can be dated is the reference to his friend Calvus' famous denunciation of Vatinius which took place in August of 54. As the years then which immediately followed were full of momentous events which must have stirred the feelings of Catullus to their inmost depths, we can scarcely conceive him as writing after this period. We may well suppose then that towards the end of 54, feeling the approach of early death which his poems seem more than once to anticipate, he collected and published them with the dedication to Cornelius Nepos¹.

In a Greifswald index Scholarum published some months ago and transmitted to me by the courtesy of the writer, Mr F. Buecheler tries to prove, p. 15—17, that the two Ciceros had the poems of Catullus in their hands before June of this year 54 and that Catullus must therefore refer to some earlier speech of Calvus against Vatinius. Cicero ad Q. fratrem II 15 4 has these words 'tu, quemadmodum me censes oportere esse..., ita et esse et fore auricula infima scito molliorem': this, Buecheler says, is an allusion to the 25th poem of Catullus 'Thalle mollior...uel imula auricilla'. I am disposed to think both Cicero and Catullus are alluding to some common proverbial expression, as I have pointed out in my Lucretius that Cicero, who so often speaks of older poets Greek and Latin, never

¹ [I now see that the 'libellus', which Catullus dedicated and presented to Nepos, can hardly have contained the whole or any thing like the whole of his extant poems: see Ellis' notes on the 1st poem and Bruner's essay to which he refers. But when that poem was written, and what poems were sent with it, I am quite unable to decide.]

quotes any contemporary verses except his own, never mentions the name of Catullus, and speaks of Calvus only as an orator, not as a poet. But granting that Cicero does allude here to Catullus, this will tell us nothing as to the time when he published his 'liber': it is plain from the dedication to Nepos, from such pieces as the 54th which refers to the publication of the 29th, from the very nature of the case, that Catullus must have given many of his occasional pieces to the world at the time they were written and that Cicero may have had in his hands the piece in question years before the whole collection was made public. For what I now proceed to state will prove that the body of poems we now have could not have been completed very much before the end of 54: I have shewn in my note to Lucretius III 57 how often Catullus has imitated him in one section of his longest work, the marriage of Peleus and Thetis. Now the *De Rerum Natura* was not published before the commencement of 54; and Catullus must have studied it before he wrote the long episode of Theseus and Ariadne which, as I there observe, though beautiful in itself, singularly interrupts the thread of the narrative. Being then formally a follower of the Alexandrines, though so widely differing from them in genius, he must have thought his varied collection would be imperfect without an epyllion. He therefore wrote or completed, and inserted in the middle of his book this brilliant and exquisite, but unequal and ill-proportioned poem¹. A generation had yet to pass, before the heroic attained to its perfection; while he had already produced glyconics, phalaecians and

¹ [I now see that this 25th poem may have been published in an earlier 'libellus', perhaps in that which he sent to Nepos, and that the epyllion may not have appeared till after his death.]

iambics, each 'one entire and perfect chrysolite', 'cunningest patterns' of excellence, such as Latium never saw before or after, Alcaeus, Sappho and the rest then and only then having met their match.

If therefore he died in 54 at the age of 30, he was probably born in 84, the year of Cinna's 4th consulship, Jerome as Schwabe suggests having confounded it with 87, when Cinna was first consul: for him a very probable error. But Schwabe prefers to take 87 as the year of his birth and to make him 33 years old at the time of his death. The other alternative I much prefer, as it appears to me to fulfil every requisite condition of the problem: he evidently died in youth: 'Obuius huic uenias, hedera iuuenalia cinctus Tempora cum Caluo, docte Catulle, tuo'. He would thus be about 22, when he first met his fate in the ox-eyed Lesbia or Clodia, the *βοῶπις* of Cicero and Atticus. She was some ten years older; but her Juno-like beauty would then be in its prime; and those terrible lenocinia needed time for their full development; for she was a Juno to whom Aphrodite had lent her own cestus: *ἐνθ' ἐνι μὲν φιλότης, ἐν δ' ἡμερος, ἐν δ' ὀαριστὺς Πάρφασις, ἥτ' ἔκλεψε νόον πύκα περ φρονεόντων*. If such allurements made captive in a moment the Olympian himself, how were they to be resisted by a youth of twenty-two, that youth a poet, that poet Catullus? 'Haec bona non primae tribuit natura iuuentae, Quae cito post septem lustra uenire solent', says the teacher of the art of love; and Lesbia was then *in* her seventh lustrum. She was a fearful woman, but she has also been fearfully outraged and maligned. Seldom can an unfortunate lady have had the luck to incur the burning hatred of two such masters of sarcasm as Cicero and Catullus. She destroyed the luckless poet; yet we owe her some

gratitude; for she gave us one of the great lyric poets of the world.

But at present I will dwell no longer on these matters: I will come at once to my more special subject, the 29th poem, of which I have so much to say that I shall probably tire out my readers' patience. And first I will print the piece at length, leaving the words spaced in the only four places where there is any doubt as to the reading: these I will discuss as I come to them in my dissection of the poem.

Quis hoc potest uidere, quis potest pati,
nisi impudicus et uorax et aleo,
Mamurram habere quod comata Gallia
habebat cum te et ultima Britannia?

5 cinaede Romule, haec uidebis et feres?¹
et ille nunc superbus et superfluens
perambulabit omnium cubilia,
ut albulus columbus aut ydoneus?
cinaede Romule, haec uidebis et feres?

10 es impudicus et uorax et aleo.
eone nomine, imperator unice,
fuisti in ultima occidentis insula,
ut ista uostra defututa mentula
ducenties comesset aut trecenties?

15 quid est alid sinistra liberalitas?
parum expatrauit an parum helluatus est?
paterna prima lancinata sunt bona:
secunda praeda Pontica: inde tertia
Hibera, quam scit amnis aurifer Tagus.

20 hunc Galliae timet et Britanniae

¹ [Auantius, followed by Statius and most of the older editors, and recently by L. Mueller and Baehrens, have added here v. 10, *Es impudicus cet.*: this repetition adds greatly to the symmetry of the poem and is probably right.]

quid hunc malum fouetis? aut quid hic potest
nisi uncta deuorare patrimonia?
eone nomine urbis opulentissime
socer generque, perdidistis omnia?

But before I begin to examine more minutely the poem itself, I must from love of Caesar and indeed of Catullus himself endeavour to shew that in their days, and indeed long before and after, the most offensive and indecent personalities meant something very different from what they would mean in the present day. Had it not been so, civilised society could hardly have gone on in ancient Greece and Rome during their most brilliant and energetic times, or in the Middle Ages down indeed to a quite recent period. Just think, to take two conspicuous and widely distant examples, of the appalling personalities of Aristophanes and Dante! Public opinion craved for and found such vents for the relief of its pent up feelings towards the great ones of the earth, whether demagogues, popes or kings. Coupled with this love of personality there was a tendency, which to us seems strange and almost incomprehensible, towards outrageous indecency and buffoonery. There was more in this than can be explained on any ordinary principles of human conduct. When in old Greece the majestic beauty of epic poetry came into being together with the erotic licence of lyric, elegiac and iambic poetry; when side by side with the august solemnity of tragedy was seen the old comedy rioting in a liberty which turned into ridicule gods and men alike, the belief clearly was that gods and men alike dreaded Nemesis and wished by such sacrifices of dignity to appease that awful power. We must give a similar interpretation to the scenes witnessed in the

cathedrals of Christendom during those ages when men had faith, if they ever had it, and yet at stated seasons of the year parodies went on, the most blasphemous and obscene, of all that was held most sacred. Apparently from long use and wont this curious love of indecency continued till quite recent times to infest the light literature of jest books and the embittered polemics of angry adversaries. In the middle of last century Voltaire's calumnies upon Frederick of Prussia are quite as revolting to our sense as those of Catullus against Caesar, or Calvus and Clodius against Pompey, and they were meant too more in earnest.

In ancient Italy the union of indecency with bitter personality was very rife, the latter being fostered as in Greece by the fierce struggles of party in the free communities, the former by curious religious superstition. As in Greece and throughout the East, so in Italy the evil eye, the *fascinum*, was believed to have an extraordinary influence, and this influence it was thought could best be averted by obscene symbols and obscene verses: thus '*fascinum*' became a synonyme for '*ueretrum*'. The evil eye was most efficacious where human happiness appeared to be greatest: in three cases therefore it was especially guarded against, in the case of children, of a marriage, and of a triumph when man was supposed to stand on the highest pinnacle of glory and felicity. Therefore, as Varro tells us in the *de ling. Lat.* VII 97, *puerulis turpicula res in collo quaedam suspenditur, ne quid obsit*; and there is a striking passage in Pliny XXVIII 4 § 39 *quamquam illos [infantes] religione tutatur et fascinus, imperatorum quoque, non solum infantium custos, qui deus inter sacra Romana a Vestalibus colitur et currus triumphantium, sub his pendens, defendit medicus inuidiae, iubet-*

que eosdem respicere similis medicina linguae, ut sit exorata a tergo Fortuna gloriae carnifex. A similar protection against Fortune, the executioner of glory and happiness, was afforded from the earliest times by the Fescennine songs, connected in meaning and origin with this fascinum: the indecent ridicule thrown thereby on the great or the fortunate was believed to turn aside the evil eye. While patrimi and matrimi were addressing the gods in pure and lofty strains, with regard to other religious solemnities we have Ovid in the *fasti* III 675 saying, *Nunc mihi cur cantent superest obscena puellae Dicere: nam coeunt certaue probra canunt;* and 695 *Inde ioci ueteres obscenaue dicta canuntur, Et iuuat hanc magno uerba dedisse deo*¹. In marriage as might be expected the evil eye was greatly dreaded; and therefore the fescennine verses were a vital part of the ceremony, as important as the invocation of Hymen Hymenaeus. Look at the long episode of the ‘fescennina iocatio’ which comes in the midst of the epithalamium, and mars so rudely to our feeling the exquisite grace and delicacy of Catullus’ 61st poem. It is strange but true that this address to the ‘concubinus’ was meant as a compliment to the beautiful Aurunculeia and the highborn and accomplished Torquatus: it was not meant to be taken seriously, but was only a sacrifice to Fortune the carnifex. If this be doubted, I would appeal to Seneca’s *Medea* 107 foll. where the chorus, celebrating Iason’s marriage with Creusa, says ‘Concesso, iuuenes, ludite iurgio....Rara est in dominos iusta licentia....Festa dicax fundat conuicia fescenninus: Soluat turba iocos. tacitis eat illa tenebris, Siqua peregrino nubit fugitiua marito’: meaner mortals like the

¹ [On obscenity in feasts of Liber, to avert ‘fascinatio’, comp. August. *ciu. dei* VII 21.]

runaway Medea may marry in quiet; but a Creusa or an Aurunculeia has a claim to be honoured in being thus degraded by the fescennine licence. When Cato and Marcia married for the second time amid the gloom of civil war, after the death of Hortensius to whom she had been made over, Lucan mentions among the signs of mourning that 'Non soliti lusere sales, nec more Sabino Excepit tristis conuicia festa maritus'. But on their first marriage doubtless the fescennina iocatio had sounded as loudly as Hymen Hymenæe in honour of the then youthful Cato.

The car of the conqueror could not escape, and we know from Livy and others that on every triumph the victorious commander was followed by his legions singing ridiculous fescennine verses. The greater he was and the more adored by his soldiers, the greater would be the sacrifice demanded by Fortuna and the more ribald the fun in honour of their much-loved general. Caesar, as we shall see, has suffered grievously by this; he has suffered also as well as his successor in another way. During their reigns the licence of invective was quite unrestrained, as we may learn from the well-known speech of Cremutius Cordus in Tacitus: 'sed ipse diuus Iulius, ipse diuus Augustus et tulere ista et reliquere': but the consequence he draws was hardly true in the case of Julius. Tiberius however in old age, wearied with the burden of redressing the world and driven wild by the treachery of his most trusted friends, resolved to put a stop to this limitless 'scandalum magnatum'. Though its open display was thus checked, it went on in secret with more rancour than ever. He himself has bitterly paid for this; and so has Julius, as in the days of Suetonius and Dion Cassius people had forgotten that in his time the abuse meant

little or nothing; and these two writers have taken literally, what soldiers said in boisterous good-humour, or Catullus and the like from temporary pique or some equally frivolous motive¹.

But with the cessation of virulent personalities the custom of writing light licentious verses did not come to an end: Catullus had said in thorough good faith 'Nam castum esse decet pium poetam Ipsum, uersiculos nihil necesse est, Qui tum denique habent salem ac leporem, Si sunt molliculi ac parum pudici'. These lines the younger Pliny, a man of sterling worth and indefatigable industry, repeats with approbation; and in another place, epist. v 3, he reckons the writing such poems among 'innoxiae remissionis genera', for which 'Homo sum' is all the defence needed; and he draws up a formidable list of predecessors who have indulged in this pardonable recreation: among others Tully, Calvus, Pollio, Messala, Hortensius, M. Brutus, Sulla, Catulus, Scaevola, Varro, the Torquati, Gaius Memmius, Lentulus Gaetulicus, Seneca; diuus Iulius, diuus Augustus, diuus Nerua, Titus: a Nero could not degrade this noble art which had been practised by Virgil and Nepos, and before them by Ennius and Accius. Apuleius quotes the same words of Catullus, and to Pliny's list adds the name of diuus Hadrianus who composed many such trifles and wrote for a friend this epitaph 'Lasciuis uersu, mente pudicus eras'. Catullus therefore had once a goodly band of brothers to

¹ [We ought never to lose sight of the fact that nearly all the great poets and writers, who were contemporaries of Caesar and transmitted their sentiments to succeeding generations, belonged to the 'boni' or 'Opposition'. Now in such an age of pulling down and building up opposition meant frantic hatred and antagonism. This to my mind accounts for a certain ill-omened air which seems to hang about the Dictator's memory in the pages of Lucan, Tacitus and Suetonius, and which in justice belonged more to his successor than to him. Cromwell's fate much resembles Caesar's in this respect.]

keep him in countenance, though he is now almost the sole representative of them left.

At last I turn to our special poem, which is certainly one of the most powerful and brilliant of our author's satirical pieces. For fully understanding the allusions, it is of importance to know the time when it was written, and this is not difficult to determine. Some of the older editors, Scaliger among them, have gone absurdly wrong, referring for instance the 'praeda Pontica' and 'Hibera' to Caesar's latest conquests, after the death of Pompey; though the poem (see vss. 13, 21—24) plainly speaks of the latter joining with Caesar in pampering their unworthy favourite Mamurra. It was written after Caesar's invasion of Britain, as the poem itself plainly declares, probably therefore at the end of 55 or beginning of 54, when Caesar was in Cisalpine Gaul, having returned from his first invasion late in the preceding summer; hardly after the second invasion which took place in the summer and autumn of 54, as the poet, we saw, appears to have died by the end of that year. In the latter case there would scarcely have been room for the events which must have occurred afterwards, Catullus too, as Jerome informs us, having died in Rome. Clearly therefore our poem, together perhaps with the less important, though more offensive 57th, is what Suetonius refers to in the well-known passage, *Iulius 73 Valerium Catullum, a quo sibi uersiculis de Mamurra perpetua stigmata imposita non dissimulauerat, satisfacientem eadem die adhibuit cenae hospitioque patris, sicut consuerat, uti perseuerauit.* At Verona therefore where Catullus' father resided Caesar must have asked the poet to dinner, and in the winter of 55—54; for after the re-

conciliation Catullus for some reason, perhaps mere wantonness, must have again declared war, as appears by the obscure but offensive attack of the 54th piece, the concluding lines 'Irascere iterum meis iambis Immerentibus, unice imperator' plainly referring to the 'imperator unice' of our poem. Angry no doubt he was at the repetition of such waspish and ludicrously unfounded insults; but of his many imperial qualities none was more glorious to himself or more salutary to the world than his practice of the art not to be angry overmuch: his clemency cost him his life; yet made his memory what it is. But the 'perpetua stigmata' meant both to Caesar and Catullus something very different from what Suetonius seems to imply: Catullus could not have dared so to beard the irresponsible proconsul in his own province, who with a breath could have swept from off the earth 'te cum tota gente, Catulle, tua'. What such insults really implied will I trust be presently shewn. Though I feel no doubt that our poem was written at this time, I see no weight in the argument of Haupt and Schwabe that it must have been composed in the lifetime of Julia who died during Caesar's second expedition to Britain, as otherwise the 'socer generque' of the last line could not have been used. Whatever the legal meaning of these terms, Caesar and Pompey in history were always 'socer generque': those eminent scholars refute themselves by Virgil's 'Aggeribus socer Alpinis atque arce Monoeci Descendens, gener aduersis instructus eois'. Recollect too Cicero's reply to Pompey's question 'Where is your son-in-law?' 'with your father-in-law': Lucan a dozen times over plays with this favourite antithesis, as in 'socerum depellere regno Decretum genero est'¹.

¹ [Cicero again, ad Att. x 4 3 alter (Pompeius)...elapsus e soceri manibus ac ferro, bellum terra et mari comparat.]

At the time our poem was written the league between Caesar and Pompey had lasted about five years, since the consulship of Caesar in 59, and had given them absolute power in Rome and throughout the empire, whenever they chose to exert it; for what could the constitutionalists or 'boni' do against the masters of 20 legions or more? Crassus had just started on his disastrous expedition and was otherwise of small account. It was a despotism, tempered only by their own moderation and by epigrams, such as these poems of Catullus and the confidential letters of Cicero: in his public speeches he had to praise without stint. Notwithstanding Caesar's unprecedented successes in Gaul Pompey with the vulgar was still the greater; but acute observers like Catullus and Cicero saw that the other had already got 'the start of the majestic world', though he did not yet 'bear the palm alone'. Pompey could be thwarted and bullied even by a Clodius; before Caesar's will all must bend. The letters to Atticus, which may be looked on as soliloquies by an impassioned nature of more than Italian fervour of temperament, give a singular picture of Cicero's feelings towards Caesar. Caesar behaved to him as an enemy with a kinder courtesy than Pompey shewed him as a friend; he forgave him every offence before he had time to ask forgiveness; compelled his subordinates Antony, Balbus and the rest to treat him when a declared opponent with punctilious deference. Yet for all this, perhaps because of all this, admiring as he could not but do Caesar's social and personal qualities, he felt all his aspirations so nipped and kept under by the other's commanding genius, that hatred the most intense took possession of his mind: 'hoc *τέρας* horribili est uigilantia, celeritate, diligentia' was his constant feeling. Yet he, thinking and speaking in earnest, never dreamed

of fastening on Caesar any of these ridiculous scandals of Catullus. Read the letters written to Atticus after those ides of March on which he received his own death-warrant: he glories in that day; but soon finds that he has got nothing 'praeter laetitiam quam oculis cepi iusto interitu tyranni'; that the tyrant dead is worse than the tyrant living; that he could speak with less danger 'uiuo tyranno quam mortuo; ille enim nescio quo pacto ferebat me quidem mirabiliter: nunc—'. At last in xv 4 we have this outbreak: 'if things go on thus, I like not the ides of March. For he should never have come back after death, nor fear compelled us to ratify his acts; or else—heaven's curse light upon him, dead though he be—so high was I in his favour that, seeing the master is slain and we are not free, he was a master not to be rejected at my time of life. I blush, believe me: but I have written, and will not blot it out'. For these awful words neither Cicero nor Caesar is to blame, but the fortune of Rome: they must express the feeling of the 'boni' generally who could not see that old things had passed away.

But though Catullus would take advantage of such feelings, with him it was always as I have said the *odi* or *amo* of the moment that constrained him to write and made him the poet he was; and his unabashed candour and cynical effrontery lay bare to us the motives which impelled him to this attack on Caesar and Mamurra. The 41st and 43rd poems shew us that the latter had by his wealth supplanted him in the affections of a provincial beauty, 'Decoctoris amica Formiani', a phrase repeated for effect in both the poems just mentioned. This Formian spendthrift is our Mamurra of whom I will now speak more at length. Though he was a man of some mark in his day, he would have passed into

oblivion but for the unenviable notoriety Catullus has given him. Owing solely to this notoriety he is spoken of by Pliny in xxxvi 6 § 48, a passage to which we shall recur more than once: he tells us on the authority of Cornelius Nepos that Mamurra was born at Formiae, was a Roman knight and was praefectus fabrum to C. Caesar in Gaul. Horace as we know denotes Formiae by the name of 'urbs Mamurrarum', whether with reference to Catullus or because the family was really very important there. Caesar, it may be on account of his annoyance at such attacks, never once mentions his name, which twice occurs in Cicero; once in the well-known account which he gives Atticus of Caesar's dining with him in December 45, where he says that Caesar 'de Mamurra audiuit' without changing countenance. This is perhaps rightly now explained to mean that he heard of Mamurra's death; but, as 'uultum' is omitted in the best Ms., perhaps Manutius' interpretation is right, that a sentence against Mamurra for transgressing the sumptuary law, which Caesar strictly enforced, was read to him; and he let it stand as it was: nothing else is known as to the time when Mamurra died. The other passage is more important for our purpose: Cicero is writing to Atticus, vii 7, in the year 50: he is greatly disgusted with the state of affairs, with Caesar's ever-growing power and resistless energy, and thus quotes and replies to a question of his correspondent: 'Annorum enim decem imperium et ita latum placet?' placet igitur etiam me expulsum et agrum Campanum perisse et adoptatum patricium a plebeio, Gaditanum a Mytilenaeo, et Labieni diuitiae et Mamurrae placent et Balbi horti et Tusculanum. Here Cicero is referring to things most obnoxious to him, carried by the joint power of Caesar, Pompey and

Crassus during late years. You ask me whether I like the imperium given to Caesar for ten years and in such a way. Why, if I like that, then I like my own banishment, the loss to the state of the revenue from the Campanian ager, the adoption of the patrician Clodius by a plebeian, of a Gaditane by a Mytilenaeon; the riches of Labienus and of Mamurra; Balbus' gardens and Tusculan villa. The first four of these obnoxious measures were carried conjointly by the three dynasts, Varro's *Τρικάρωνος*: the adoption of the bland Phoenician L. Cornelius Balbus by Pompey's trusted friend and client Theophanes of Mytilene must have been solely Pompey's doing, as he gave to both of them citizenship and wealth and influence: the riches of Labienus would come of course from Caesar alone; those of Mamurra, as we shall see presently from Catullus, from both Pompey and Caesar: the gardens and villa of Balbus probably from Pompey alone, as he was long his patron, and it was late that Balbus, when forced to choose sides, took that of Caesar who nobly allowed him to nurse Pompey's property during the civil war.

Catullus himself I repeat tells us that Mamurra got his riches from Pompey as well as Caesar: with reference to this I will examine vss. 17—19 of our poem. In the offensive 13th line *uostra* refers to the two: he goes on to say that first of all he squandered his patrimony, that of a Roman knight as Pliny tells us in the passage I quoted: next the booty of Pontus: this beyond all question was the spoil gained by Pompey in the Mithridatic war, as Haupt and others have seen. I cannot conceive how Mommsen in his history (bk. 5 ch. 8 near the end) can maintain that this was the booty taken at the capture of Mytilene in 80 or 79, where Caesar

then a youth distinguished himself under the praetor M. Thermus. Next was wasted the Iberian booty which the Tagus knows: this was the spoil gained in 60 by Caesar as proprætor in Spain from the Lusitani. And now says the poet he is to have the wealth of Gaul and Britain; and was it to pamper a profligate like this, father- and son-in-law, that you have ruined between you the world? From all this, coupled with what Pliny tells us, we learn that Mamurra was a man of good birth; that he was Caesar's chief engineer in Gaul where operations were on so gigantic a scale; he must therefore have been a man of distinguished professional merit; high too in Caesar's confidence, as he had served years before under him in Spain; nay years before that he had served in some similar capacity under Rome's other great general Pompey, when engineering works must have been on an equally great scale; and, as Pompey had the whole of Lucullus' army handed over to him, it is more than probable that Mamurra was with Lucullus before. From all this it follows necessarily that in the year 54 he was a man of mature age and of high professional distinction. It would appear that in Rome, as in some other countries, members of the scientific corps of the army had a difficulty in emerging from under the 'cold shade of the aristocracy'; but one who had been so long the trusted officer of Caesar and Pompey must have had eminent merit, though he would not readily attain to the social consideration of a Labienus or Antony. It is likely enough from what Catullus and Pliny tell us, that he was fond of display and enjoyment, and that his riches lightly came and lightly went. But what Catullus says in other pieces of his success with women would seem to contradict the most offensive things in our

poem, which on all considerations are incredible. Nay it is clear that by this fescennine-like raillery the poet simply means 'you have cheated me, my fine fellow, out of my mistress, and you and your two mighty patrons, who have given you the means to do it, shall bitterly smart for this'.

And now I will turn to other such-like charges which can be shewn I believe to be as utterly baseless as this Mamurran banter: Catullus, though he will not let Pompey escape, directs the main force of his invective against Caesar as Mamurra's more immediate patron: in vss. 2 and 10 he calls him 'impudicus', which in Latin has a peculiarly offensive meaning, being a synonyme of the 'cinaede' which he applies to him in 5 and 9; and in the brief but yet more impudent 57th poem he begins with 'Pulcre conuenit improbis cinaedis, Mamurrae pathicoque Caesarique', and goes on in the like insulting strain. Suetonius was an indefatigable collector of anecdotes and facts concerning the early Caesars; but, removed from them a century and a half in time and still further in feeling, for reasons some of which we have touched upon above, and perhaps from the Boswell-like character of his mind, he is often unable to distinguish between what was meant in earnest and mere joking or conventional invective. Yet, while in a passage we have already referred to he gives as one instance of Caesar's exceeding placability his ready forgiveness of Catullus, though he avowed that these verses about Mamurra had set upon him a perpetual brand, in ch. 49 he proves that these very verses meant little or nothing. For there he tells us 'pudicitiae eius famam *nihil quidem praeter* Nicomedis contubernium laesit, graui tamen et perenni obprobrio et ad omnium conuicia exposito'; he then gives a list

of these 'omnes' to which I shall presently refer. But first for the story itself: Caesar when a boy shewed that in Sulla's words he had many Marii in him; when he was but eighteen he refused to divorce his wife Cornelia, by whom he was already father of Julia, and preferred to wander about a proscribed fugitive in hourly peril of his life, though Pompey had at once obeyed the dictator's commands. He then escaped to Asia and served under M. Minucius Thermus, was sent by him on a confidential mission to Nicomedes of Bithynia, successfully performed it, returned and took part in the capture of Mytilene and received a civic crown for saving the life of a soldier. It was in consequence of this visit to Nicomedes that the absurd and scandalous story took its rise at some time or other. From a long list of angry opponents or bantering jesters who 20 or 30 years later taunted Caesar about this matter Suetonius singles out Gaius Memmius as making the charge in a definite shape; 'C. Memmius etiam ad cyathum et uinum Nicomedi stetisse obicit cum reliquis exoletis pleno conuiuio, accubantibus nonnullis urbis negotiatoribus quorum refert nomina'. This then Memmius must have learnt or pretended to learn more than twenty years after the event when he was praetor in Bithynia. But supposing the memories of these merchants of the place did not play them false, what does the story mean? A young noble of the highest birth, of distinguished bravery, energy and talent, the representative of Rome at a king's court, first foully disgraces himself with that king and then gratuitously parades his degradation before a large company. A circumstantial lie is often the most self-convicting of lies. It is possible enough that the story may have arisen from the handsome and accomplished youth

having taken part in some court pageant or frolic: a guilty secret would have stood in the way of such condescension. It may be asked how would so many eminent orators and others make a charge they knew to be unfounded? Why, every Greek and Roman orator, as a part of his art, made charges against an antagonist which he knew to be false as well as the opponent himself did. Such attacks on Caesar meant no more than the terms of abuse or endearment used by a cabman or coalheaver in the streets of London or Paris; or than the threats of Catullus towards his Furius and Aurelius. The poet, to shew his contempt for his would-be patron Memmius, in two pieces makes meaningless imputations on him, more foul than this of Memmius upon Caesar. But Caesar, whose self-respect would suffer by this one foolish story turning up so often a generation after its fictitious date, must have been enraged by the acrimonious turn given to it by the foul-mouthed Memmius; for Suetonius tells us that he replied in writing to his virulent speeches 'non minore acerbitate'. But he soon forgave him, as he knew his scurrility was a mere fashion of speech.

To confirm my view of the case I will adduce the evidence of Pompey and Augustus. Pompey, left by the coalition to coerce the city, by his unskilful management at once irritates the 'boni' and exposes himself to their contempt. How do they avenge themselves? Calvus, as an orator second only to Cicero, as a poet only to Catullus, at once indites this epigram, 'Magnus quem metuunt omnes digito caput uno Scalpit: quid credas hunc sibi uelle? uirum': this is more offensive even than the attacks on Caesar. Clodius next quarrels with Pompey, takes his troops of ruffians with him, and standing in a conspicuous spot asks, as Pompey is

passing, τίς ἐστὶν αὐτοκράτωρ ἀκόλαστος (imperator impudicus); τίς ἀνὴρ ἄνδρα ζητεῖ; τίς ἐνὶ δακτύλῳ κνᾶται τὴν κεφαλὴν; And they answer in chorus to each question 'Pompey to be sure'. Now this is the very wantonness of insult, as Pompey by universal consent was acknowledged as a man of simple and exemplary domestic habits, so attached to his family and his successive wives as to be quizzed for uxoriousness; while at the same time his conversation and manners are said by Plutarch to have been most attractive to clever women. Cicero, out of humour with himself, with Pompey and with the world, in his very curt comment on his death to Atticus (XI 6 5) remarks 'non possum eius casum non dolere; hominem enim integrum et castum et grauem cognoui': this is what Cicero thinks of, not his deeds in war or peace. But if Suetonius had written his life, we should have had all these assaults on his 'pudicitia' enumerated at length, as we have in the case of Augustus: in the 68th chapter of his life he gives a set of most fatuous and ribald charges made by his fiercest antagonists, Sextus Pompey and the two Antonies: 'pudicitiam delibatam a Caesare, Aulo etiam Hirtio in Hispania trecentis milibus nummum substrauerit'!!—worthy parallels to the Nicomedes and Murrina tales; but gravely narrated by the biographer, who solemnly records how the people in the theatre pointed at Augustus when this verse was recited of a gallus with his tambourine, 'uidesne ut cinaedus orbem digito temperat'. But as Cremutius Cordus says, 'ipse diuus Iulius, ipse diuus Augustus et tulere ista et reliquere'.

When Caesar triumphed, Fortuna had to be propitiated by an unwonted display of the 'fescennina iocatio'. Some joker of jokes hit of course upon Nico-

medes and composed for his soldiers the famous 'Gallias Caesar subegit, Nicomedes Caesarem' and the rest; as well as the 'Vrbani, seruate uxores moechum caluom adducimus': but nothing about Mamurra who doubtless was in the conqueror's suite. Dion Cassius tells us (43 20) how Caesar was gratified by the freedoms of his soldiers, because it shewed they knew he would take them in good part; but expressed annoyance at the Nicomedes chaunt and swore the story was a lie; upon which the soldiers laughed the louder. That laugh merely meant to say, 'General, we only wished to shew our love to you and avert the ten thousand envious eyes, fixed on you and us as we passed through the streets'. I have yet a word to say of the twice recurring 'Cinaede Romule' and the 'imperator unice' repeated in another poem. Up to Caesar's conquest the Gauls were looked upon as a standing menace to Italy and the empire: from Cicero's laudatory speech 'de prouinciis consularibus', spoken more than a year before our poem was written, we see what boundless enthusiasm his exploits had caused; Gauls, Helvetians, Germans had been crushed; nations not known from books or even rumour, 'has noster imperator nosterque exercitus et populi Romani arma peragrarunt'; Providence had placed the Alps between Gaul and Italy, else Rome had never become the seat of empire; but now these Alps may sink down, for there is nothing between them and the ocean that Italy need dread. And now the invasion of Britain had added to the enthusiasm, and the unprecedented honour was decreed of a thanksgiving of twenty days. It is probable that, like other saviours of their country, he had been styled in the official announcement of this a second Romulus, a 'unicus imperator'; to which Catullus gives this malicious

turn, though mingling with the banter is a half-betrayed admiration for the 'Caesaris monimenta magni'. In the bitter and powerful speech of the consul Lepidus, preserved among the fragments of Sallust, Sulla with like irony is styled 'scaeuus iste Romulus'; and Quintilian (IX 3 89) records that Sallust thus addressed Cicero, 'O Romule Arpinas': in Livy we find 'unicus imperator', 'dux', 'consul' or the like a dozen times, and more than once said with bitter irony.

The words 'et uorax' which follow in both lines the 'impudicus' afford me a welcome opportunity to repel another scandal which has fixed on Caesar's memory an ignominious vice; a scandal however of quite modern origin which has arisen through misapprehending two words of Cicero. The charge so often made I find thus stated in Macmillan's Magazine, vol. 17 p. 526, by Goldwin Smith in his able and sympathising, yet moderate defence of 'the last Republicans of Rome' against the unmeasured scorn and abuse which have been recently heaped upon them: 'We find the great man, when he is the guest of Cicero, preparing himself for the pleasures of the table in the Roman fashion by taking an emetic. These be thy Gods!' The writer refers to the dinner which Cicero gave to Caesar and describes to Atticus in the last letter of the 13th book. The dinner took place it would appear on the 21st of December 45, in Cicero's Formian villa, a few months before Caesar's murder. It was the 3rd day of the Saturnalia, a time of universal relaxation and feasting. How was it spent by the heavy-laden master of the world? He had come the evening before to the house of Philippus with a large retinue: there he spent the day working hard at his accounts with Balbus till one o'clock; then he walked on the shore; at two he took

a bath ; then he heard about Mamurra, whether it was of his death or his transgression of the sumptuary law ; was anointed, sat down to dinner ; and as he intended that night to take an emetic (*ἐμετικὴν* or rather *ἐμετικὸν* agebat), he ate and drank without fear and in good spirits. The dinner, Cicero tells us, was sumptuous and served in good style ; and not only that but, in the words of Lucilius, ‘with good talk well dressed, well seasoned, and, if you would know, to his heart’s content.....I shewed myself a man : yet he is not a guest to whom you would say, Pray let me see you when you come again this way : once is enough. No politics in the conversation, much literary talk. In short he was delighted and thoroughly enjoyed himself’. The two words I have cited in the original admit I believe no sense but that which I have given them : the paraphrase in Macmillan is plainly untenable. Medical practice appears in old times to have gone through much the same phases as in our days. A generation ago the taking of emetics before going to bed was an infliction which many had to submit to : it is now I fancy out of fashion and superseded by homoeopathy, the cold water cure and the like, whether rightly so or not, I do not know. In Caesar’s time the ‘uomitum’ was a common prescription : by and bye Antonius Musa cured Augustus by means of cold water or with the help of nature, and made the former all the rage. Horace had to shiver for it in the depth of winter ; but soon to the gain of invalids, tho’ to the world’s loss, Musa killed off Marcellus the heir of the empire and extinguished the new fashion. Celsus (I 3) approves of an emetic in certain cases : it is of more use in winter he says than in summer ; and Caesar was with Cicero in midwinter. The latter himself speaks of it on this

occasion and also in the pro Deiotaro, addressed to Caesar, as quite an ordinary matter. Celsus tells you, if the emetic is taken at night, not to eat much at the meal preceding, to take yesterday's bread, rough dry unmixed wine, roast meat '*cibisque omnibus quam siccissimis*'. I daresay Caesar followed these rules as far as Cicero's cook would let him; for all accounts represent him as utterly indifferent to the pleasures of the table. Even his enemies, says Suetonius ch. 53, did not deny that he was most sparing in his use of wine; and his confidential friend Gaius Oppius relates that he was so utterly careless as to what he ate '*ut quondam ab hospite conditum oleum pro viridi adpositum, aspernantibus ceteris, solum etiam largius appetisse scribat, ne hospitem aut neglegentiae aut rusticitatis uideretur arguere*'. Well does Velleius (II 41) say of him '*Magno illi Alexandro, sed sobrio neque iracundo, simillimus*'. He was indeed the high-bred and kindly gentleman, the same Suetonius telling us that he sent his baker to prison, because he had dared to put before him a finer bread than he had given to his guests. 'These be thy Gods!' I would echo in a different sense; for Mr Smith a few pages later says most justly of Cicero, that '*his vast intellectual industry implies a temperate life*'. But how much greater even than Cicero's was the industry of Caesar during the last 15 years of his life, who during that time went through an amount of work physical and intellectual, taking quantity and quality together, such as mortal man probably never performed before or since! Emperor, minister, generalissimo, lawgiver, censor, restorer of lost rights and creator of new ideas, he was at the same time destroying with his right hand the world that was and building up in his mind the world that was to be. Any excess in any direction

must have destroyed his delicate organisation. Marlborough began his great career after middle life, and his letters to his wife shew how soon his work began to tell on his head and to sow probably the seeds of that sad disease which afterwards overtook him. Suetonius in ch. 86 tells us that some of Caesar's friends were persuaded that he did not want to live longer and therefore despised all omens and the warnings of his friends. Perhaps the huge strain upon his brain had destroyed the buoyancy of feeling and enthusiasm of spirit which alone would make life worth having to such a man.

Of Catullus' next words 'et aleo' I will just say that the same term was applied to Augustus, because he used to give the members of his family small sums of money and then play with them for shilling points during the Saturnalia and on other feast-days, as we learn from Suetonius who in ch. 71 quotes two interesting letters of Augustus to Tiberius on this subject. Cicero throughout his confidential correspondence with Atticus puts the worst construction he can on every public act of Caesar and will not be persuaded that he is not going to prove in the end a Sulla or Cinna; but he never breathes a whisper against his private life, either before or after his death, never hints he was 'impudicus' 'uorax' or 'aleo'; while throughout these letters and in his philippics he charges on Antony over and over again such like enormities. Surely this is of importance: the prodigy's sleepless vigilance and industry appal him; Antony's licentious habits disgust him.

A few remarks have now to be made on the only four places in our poem where there is any critical dif-

ficulty: the first in v. 4 will not detain us long: for the 'Habebat cum te' of Mss. many editors including Sillig, Doering, Heyse, and both Schwabe and Ellis adopt Faernus' emendation 'Habebat uncti': Lachmann, Haupt and Mommsen read after Statius 'Habebat ante', which I am disposed to prefer for the following reasons: it comes at least as near to the Ms. reading; for I observe that some original of all our Mss. often put *co* for *a*: thus in 48 4 we find 'inde cor' for 'uidear'; 64 212 'moenico' for 'moenia'; 67 42 'conciliis' for 'ancillis'; 75 3 'uelleque tot' for 'uelle queat', *c* and *t* being continually confused; and on the other hand 36 14 'alcos' for 'Golgos'; 66 45 'atque' for 'cumque (conque)': thus *ante* might at once become *con te* = cum te. Again I prefer it for the sense; as 'quod uncti' strikes me as somewhat affected and not quite like 'uncta patrimonia' and 'unctius caput', in both of which cases the metaphor is very obvious. Lastly the passage of Pliny, xxxvi 6 48, already referred to, 'Mamurra—quem, ut res est, domus ipsius clarius quam Catullus dixit habere *quidquid habuisset* comata Gallia', gives no intimation of any *uncti*; and 'quidquid habuisset' quite expresses 'quod habebat ante'.

In v. 8 'Vt albulus columbus aut ydoneus' Statius and Scaliger read 'aut Adoneus' and are followed by Lachmann, Doering, Haupt, Mommsen, and Ellis among others. I have some doubt whether Catullus, a technical pupil of the Greeks, would have said *Adoneus* for *Adonis*: it is true Plautus has it; but in the same line he has *Catameitus* for *Ganymedes*, which Catullus would hardly have used, any more than Melerpanta or Patricoles for Bellerophontes or Patroclus: I should not demur, if the Mss. gave us that form, but they do not. Again I should like to know any Latin writer who as-

signs to Adonis, born of the wood and bred in the woods, the character which a modern hairdresser connects with him and which would suit Catullus' picture of Mamurra: the ancient conception of him seems rather to be Shakespeare's: 'Hunting he loved, but love he laughed to scorn': thus Ovid, *ars* 1 509, 'Forma uiros neglecta decet: Minoida Theseus Abstulit, a nulla tempora comptus acu: Hippolytum Phaedra, nec erat bene cultus, amauit: Cura deae siluis aptus Adonis erat': and certainly you could not couple Theseus or Hippolytus with an 'albulus columbus'. Mamurra is effeminate and worn out by debauchery: Adonis is a beautiful boy, the very reverse of effeminate: in Bion he is mourned for by his hounds and the mountain-nymphs, by the hills themselves, the woods and waters; while Theocritus mates him with Agamemnon and Ajax, Hector, Patroclus and Pyrrhus, and yet older and rougher heroes. I would therefore with Heyse and Schwabe follow Sillig in adopting what is really the Ms. reading 'haut idoneus'; with which might be compared Horace's 'Vixi puellis nuper idoneus' and 'Si torrere iecur quaeris idoneum', though probably it has in Catullus a more offensive sense illustrated by v. 13. It is really I repeat the Ms. reading: [I have noted some 50 instances in which G and O quite indifferently have *y* for *i*, or *i* for *y*.] Again 'aut' and 'haut' are the same; for not only do our Mss. and therefore their archetype omit or wrongly prefix the initial *h* in so many cases that it would be idle to enumerate them; but in the two or three places where Catullus uses *haut* (haud), we find 66 35 *aut* in all Mss.: and *ib.* 16, if any of the corrections, *Illaque haut alia*, *Illa atque haut alia*, *Illaque hautque alia*, *Illac hautque alia*, of various editors be right, *haut* probably passed into *aut* in the process of corruption; but

for the 'Illa atque alia' of Mss. I propose 'Illac (quaque alia?) uiderunt luce' as a better rhythm and an easy correction.

We now come to the very corrupt v. 20, though the sense required is plain enough. Is Mamurra to have what long-haired Gaul and farthest Britain had? Was it to feed his lust, O general without peer, you the other day were in the outmost island of the west? He then in his increasing wrath joins with Caesar his brother-tyrant Pompey who first pampered the wretch: 'Vt ista *uost*ra cet.': his gormandising and wantonness nothing can appease: first went his own patrimony; next the spoils taken from Mithridates by Pompey; thirdly the booty got by Caesar in Further Spain: what next? he will now have the riches of Gaul and Britain, opened up only yesterday.—But many and various have been the methods tried to get the required pure iambic, as may be seen in the critical notes of Schwabe and Ellis: Time Britannia, hunc timete Galliae: Timete Galliae, hunc time Britannia: etc. etc. none of them satisfying in sense or keeping near to the Ms. reading. And Schwabe with reason remarks that no convincing emendations have been made in Catullus, where this has not been closely adhered to. He admits himself that a pure iambic verse would be very far preferable to any other, if a satisfactory one could be devised; but despairing of this he gives us one which suits the sense and context excellently: Nunc Galliae timetur (timet^r) et Britanniae. But a pure iambic appears to me not only desirable, but necessary; Ellis too requiring a pure iambic reads 'Neque una Gallia aut timent Britanniae': I will state my objections to this: it departs rather widely from the Mss.; nor do I think the plural Britanniae could have been

used by Catullus, as he is speaking of the one island, a corner of which was invaded a few months before: Pliny iv 16 § 102 says 'Britannia insula clara Graecis nostrisque monumentis.... Albion ipsi nomen fuit, cum Britanniae uocarentur omnes de quibus mox paulo dicemus': and then he names a large number of islands, 40 Orcades, 7 Acmodae, 30 Hebudes, Mona, Vectis, etc. etc.: a curious passage, but it will not I think support the plural in Catullus, any more than his own 'Mauult quam Syrias Britanniasque', which means of course 'prefers to Syrias and Britains', as we say 'to whole worlds': Ellis might of course read 'timet Britannia'; but then with 'Gallia' and 'Britannia' it is difficult to see how the *ae* of all Mss. could have come into both words: of course, if it were in one, by attraction it could get into the other. The sense too he gives the verse seems to me very unsuitable: Neque enim Gallia tantummodo aut Britanniae Mamurram timent; quod post commemoratas ex Ponto atque Hiberia praedas iure uidetur additum. But surely Catullus does not mean to say that Pontus and Hiberia fear they are going to be plundered, because Gaul and Britain fear it: they, if they ever feared him, must like his own patrimony have long ceased to do so; as he had long ago spent all that could be got from them. The poet plainly means that the newly acquired lands, Gaul and Britain, seeing he has already spent his own means and the spoil of Pontus and Hiberia, are now going to be drained to satisfy his greed; or something like it.

And, while on this subject, I would say that Ellis in another passage, 11 11, appears to me to have done our island scant justice by reading 'Gallicum Rhenum, horribilem insulam ultimosque Britannos', for the 'horribiles' or 'horribilesque ultimosque' of Mss.: Caesar a

few months before had opened Britain up to the expectant Romans: what they then dreamt of, as we see from Cicero and others, was nothing more dreadful than gold, pearls, captives, etc. And surely the landscape would not have looked horrible in English August weather, any more than Cuba or Jamaica to the first Spanish invaders. But what would and did look horrible was the stormy channel, the 'beluosus oceanus', between the Gallic Rhine and the Britons: if then 'horribilesque' represents the archetype, Haupt's 'horribile aequor' is excellent: if, as seems probable, *que* is a clumsy interpolation to help the metre, I do not surrender my former conjecture in the old Journal, vol. 4 p. 289, 'horribilem salum': that is, as there explained, for 'horribilesultimosque', 'horribilēsālūultimosque', Ennius having 'undantem salum' and the Greek word being *σάλος*. Ellis similarly explains his reading as a corruption from 'horribilē īsulā ultimosque', 'quum excidissent litterae *ulā* propter insequentes *ul*': but long before this contraction and corruption could have taken place in Mss., the form 'horribileis' was utterly unknown and could not mediate between two readings.

And now I will try to recommend my own later correction of v. 20: Ellis having postponed it to his own put me somewhat out of conceit with it, when I was again encouraged by a flattering sentence in a paper read by Dr W. Wagner before the philological society on Dec. 20, 1867: he says 'I am convinced Mr Munro's emendation as mentioned by Mr R. Ellis obviates all difficulties'. If we are to have a pure iambic, it seems pretty clear, unless very violent changes be made, that *Hunc* represents a lost amphibrachys (◡—◡): leaving this for a moment, I divide into words in a different way from our Mss. and therefore their

lost archetype the continuous letters of some original, immediate or not, of that archetype: this original had I assume 'galliaetmetetbritannia' i.e. 'Gallia et metet Britannia': our Mss. after their archetype give 'Galliae timet et Britanniae': *Britanniae* from the attraction of *Galliae*. I have collected from our Mss. a hundred instances of absurd corruptions owing to a wrong arrangement of undivided syllables: a few that seem to apply to the present case I will give here: 28 9 Om-nem mi (*for* O Memmi), 44 7 expulsus sim (expul-tus-sim), 44 19 Sestire cepso (Sesti recepso), 54 5 seniore cocto (seni recocto), 93 2 si saluus (sis albus), 98 1 in-quam quam (in quemquam), 108 1 Sic homini (Si Co-mini), 14 9 si illa (Sulla), 17 24 potest olidum (pote stolidum), 57 5 nece luentur (nec eluentur), 61 198 Pulcre res (Pulcer es), 63 23 menade sui (maenades ui), 63 47 estuanter usum (aestuante rusum), 65 3 dulcissimus harum (dulcis musarum), 66 8 Ebore niceo (E Be-roniceo), 66 11 Quare ex (Qua rex), 69 3 Nos illa mare (Non si illam rare), 79 1 quid inquam (quidni quem); and many more besides. Now that we have so much of our verse, the rest will soon follow: out of *Hunc* we have to get a dative referring to Mamurra and a connecting particle: the particle shall be *et* which so often comes into or falls out of the beginning of a verse; thus in 61 211 we have 'Et ludite' for 'Ludite'. The dative shall be *huicne*: 'Et huicne Gallia et metet Britannia?' 'and now shall Gaul and Britain reap for him?': 'Et huicne' exactly as in v. 6 'Et ille'. Plautus, so different in some respects, is Catullus' own brother in love of familiar idiom; and he shall illustrate our metaphor: *mercat.* 71 'Tibi aras, tibi occas, tibi seris: tibi item metes, Tibi denique iste pariet laetitiam labos'; *mostell.* 799 'Sibi quisque ruri metit'; *epid.* II

2 80 'Mihi istic nec seritur nec metitur, nisi ea quae tu uis uolo'. *Huicne* I prefer to *Huice* which I am not sure Catullus would have used: 'hicne, haecne, hocne, huncne, hacne, hasne', one or the other, I have met with not only in Cicero and the Fronto palimpsest; but in Propertius, Statius, and again and again in Seneca's tragedies, where the metre confirms them; and *huicne* is nearer the *hunc* of Mss.

And now for our final critical difficulty: I may mention by the way that all recent editors in v. 21 make *malum* agree with *hunc*: though I should hesitate to contradict them, I must say that I have always thought it more emphatic as an interjection: 'why, the mischief, do you pamper him, both of you?' his wrath ever rising and now involving in it Pompey. In interrogative sentences this use of 'malum' is very common in Plautus, not uncommon in Cicero and the most idiomatic writers: 'qui, malum, bella aut faceta es?' 'quae haec, malum, impudentia est?' and the like. Then in v. 23 for the corrupt 'opulentissime' many conjectures have been made which may be seen in Schwabe and Ellis; but since Lachmann most have adopted his correction 'o piissime', as completed that is to say by Haupt who reads 'orbis, o piissimei Socer generque, p. o.': This has never seemed to me quite convincing, though I hesitate to reject what so many great scholars have sanctioned: but it is the united force of several different objections that weighs with me: 'o piissimei' is not very wide of, and yet not so very near the Ms. reading; then it involves a second alteration of 'urbis' to 'orbis', slight enough in itself; but thus we have two changes, one in a word which seems genuine: then I must say the 'Socer generque' is to my mind much weakened by having an epithet attached; still more is the force of

‘perdidistis omnia’ impaired by ‘orbis’ being joined with it: we can see from the letters to Atticus that this was a favourite phrase of the ‘boni’ during the three-headed tyranny: thus II 21 1 ‘iracundiam atque intemperantiam illorum sumus experti, qui Catoni irati omnia perdiderunt’; I 1 65 ‘uel perire maluerint quam perdere omnia’; XIV 1 1 ‘quid quaeris? perisse omnia aiebat’; 14 3 ‘nonne meministi clamare te omnia perire, si ille funere elatus esset’: [comp. too Cato ad M. filium: et hoc puta uatem dixisse, quandoque ista gens suas litteras dabit, omnia conrumpet; (Cic.) epist. ad Brut. I 3 1 et certe, nisi is Antonium ab urbe auertisset, periissent omnia.] How greatly the moral emphasis of these words ‘perdidistis omnia’ is weakened by the addition of *orbis*, may be seen from such a passage as this of Livy, praefat. 12, where he is contrasting the present with the good old times: ‘nuper diuitiae auaritiam, et abundantes uoluptates desiderium per luxum atque libidinem pereundi perdendique omnia inuexere’: by Martial too, ‘Omnia perdiderant’ is employed with much effect. Moreover we cannot, to say the least, be sure that Catullus would have ventured to use ‘piissimus’, when ten years later Cicero can say in philip. XIII 43 ‘tu porro ne pios quidem, sed piissimos quaeris, et quod uerbum omnino nullum in lingua Latina est, id propter tuam diuinam pietatem nouum inducis’: later it came more into use, and indeed Pompeius comm. Donat. ap. Keil v p. 154 says that Caper ‘elaborauit uehementissime et de epistulis Ciceronis collegit haec uerba, ubi dixerat ipse Cicero *piissimus*’; but this is very indirect evidence, and Pompeius seems to blunder about this philippic, and the word is not now found in Cicero’s letters. Lastly the allusion in the Catalecta 3 5 ‘Vt iste uersus usquequaque pertinet, Gener socerque, perdi-

distis omnia' seems to me to speak strongly for the absence of an epithet in Catullus. Ellis, whether for such reasons or others I do not know, does not accept this reading and gives us '(urbis o pudet meae)'. By this he means I presume Rome, not Verona, though Caesar probably was in Verona at this time: Catullus would naturally so term what was, to use Cicero's phrase, his *patria naturae* or *loci*; but for the poet to speak of Rome, his *patria ciuitatis* or *iuris*, thus familiarly, strikes me as at least strange.

What I propose to read is this: 'Eone nomine, urbis ob luem ipsimae (issimae), Socer generque, perdidistis omnia?' When *ipsimae* became *issimae*, as I shall presently shew it would be likely to do in Mss. such as those of Catullus, it is manifest how readily *obluemissimae* would pass into *opulentissime*: we have already given above examples more than enough of words perversely divided in our Ms.: just as common is it either to divide one word into two or more: so 29 3 Nam murram (Mamurram); 41 1 A me an a (Ameana), etc. etc.: or, as I assume here, to make two or more words into one: 21 5 exiocaris (es iocaris), 44 11 minantium (in Antium), 45 17 sinistrauit (sinistra ut), 68 139 cotidiana (concoquit iram), 68 124 Suscitata (Suscitat a), 68 129 tuorum (tu horum), 76 11 instincteque (istincteque), 76 26 proprietate (pro pietate), 116 4 mitteremusque (mittere in usque), etc. The prose Catullus, Petronius, who like him at one and the same time carries the language to the highest pitch of grace and refinement and riots in the utmost licence of popular idiom, will illustrate our *ipsimae*: ch. 63 'ipsimi nostri delicatus decessit'; and 75 'tamen ad delicias femina ipsimi annos quattuordecim fui:...ego tamen et ipsimae satis faciebam. scitis quid dicam: taceo, quia non sum

de gloriosis: ceterum, quemadmodum di uolunt, dominus in domo factus sum, et ecce cepi ipsimi cerebellum': *ipsimus ipsima* therefore = dominus domina. Buecheler illustrates it with much learning: his note, p. 74, I will here give the substance of: *ipsa* is thus used by Catullus of Lesbia's sparrow 'suamque norat Ipsam' = dominam; and in the *Casina* of Plautus the *serua* says 'ego eo quo me *ipsa* misit'; and Buecheler believes with much reason that in Catullus' 'mea dulcis Ipsitilla, Meae deliciae' the name is a diminutive of *Ipsa*, to express fondness. As *ipse* is a pyrrhic in the old scenic writers, the *p* seems to have been scarcely sounded, as in *uoluptate*, and the vulgar pronunciation appears to have been *isse*; for Augustus superseded a *legatus consularis* 'ut rudi et indocto' for writing *issi* for *ipsi*: Martial I 109 has an epigram on a lapdog *Issa*, where seven times over the inferior Mss. read *ipsa*; and Martial plays on the similarity of sound: 'Hanc...Picta Publius exprimit tabella, In qua tam similem uidebis *Issam*, Vt sit tam similis sibi nec *ipsa*': and on the walls of Pompeii and on funeral urns are found 'euge Issa', 'Aprodite issa', 'issa haue', 'issae suae', 'issulo et delicio suo', terms all of familiar endearment. Catullus would not perhaps have hesitated to use such a familiar expression, as *ipsimae* or *issimae*; for we find 50 expressions like, 'carta loquatur anus', 'fama loquetur anus', 'sacer hircus', 'ut decuit cinaediorum', 'inepta crura ponticuli', 'supper nata securi', 'iste meus stupor', 'pater esuritionum', 'tuis ab unguibus reglutina', 'cum isto Vappa', 'quidquid est domi cachinnorum', 'cacata carta', 'scabies famesque mundi', 'uetuli Falerni', 'salaputium disertum'; and in our poem 'ista uostra defututa mentula', 'lancinata sunt bona', 'uncta deuorare patrimonia'.

‘Vrbis ipsimae’ then = *dominae urbis* or *dominae Romae*: Ovid has ‘*dominae conditor urbis*’, ‘*domina retinebit in urbe*’, ‘*dominam uenietis in urbem*’; Martial ‘*domina in urbe*’ and ‘*domina ab urbe*’; Horace ‘*dominaeque Romae*’, Martial ‘*dominae fastidia Romae*’, ‘*Moenia dominae pulcherrima Romae*’, ‘*septem dominos montes*’: for *luem* compare Seneca’s ‘*luem tantam Troïae atque Achiuis*’, ‘*Helena pestis exitium lues Vtriusque populi*’, ‘*ista generis infandi lues*’, ‘*sacra Thebarum lues*’, ‘*iste nostri generis exitium ac lues*’: Catullus therefore means ‘*ob Mamurram, istam pestem dominae urbis*’: after shewing that he has ruined or is ruining one province after another, he finishes with this bitterness of his taunts: ‘Was it then on his account, for this plague-sore of the mistress Town, O father- and son-in-law, that ye have ruined all?’ It now remains to point out what Catullus probably refers to, and I must quote at length the passage of Pliny twice before spoken of: xxxvi 6 § 48 ‘*primum Romae parietes crusta marmoris operuisse totos domus suae in Caelio monte Cornelius Nepos tradit Mamurram Formiis natum, equitem Romanum, praefectum fabrum C. Caesaris in Gallia, ne quid indignitati desit, tali auctore inuenta re; hic namque est Mamurra Catulli Veronensis carminibus proscissus quem, ut res est, domus ipsius clarius quam Catullus dixit habere quidquid habuisset comata Gallia. namque adicit idem Nepos primum totis aedibus nullam nisi e marmore columnam habuisse, et omnis solidas e Carystio aut Lunensi*’: in these words Pliny, who dearly loved a scandal and was like his nephew a great admirer of their ‘*conterraneus*’ Catullus, makes up his story by uniting with the poet’s abuse Nepos’ narrative of facts. It is natural enough that Mamurra’s wealth and extravagance, combining with that scientific and

mechanical skill which Caesar's chief engineer officer must have possessed, would induce him to indulge in architectural display and in the invention of new forms of construction and ornament; and, as Catullus' very abuse proves him to have been many years in the enjoyment of great wealth, that already he had begun the house which Nepos and Pliny speak of. Other kinds of extravagance or pretension may have joined to rouse the jealous and supercilious feelings of Catullus' coterie towards the newly enriched upstart, as they might regard him in their antagonism to Caesar and Pompey: this would explain and point Catullus' last and bitterest taunt, that he was the 'lues' of the mistress town. The last I say; for to my taste the force and beauty of the poem are greatly impaired by placing either with Mommsen the four, or with Schwabe the two concluding verses after v. 10, or by changing with Ribbeck the order throughout; nor do I agree with Schwabe that the position which the last verse has in the poem of the *Catalecta*, is no argument whatever that it had the same place in our piece: the force and point of the parody surely in some measure depend upon that.

Our argument might have been illustrated by an examination of other poems directed against Caesar or Mamurra or both. I have referred above to the obscure 54th, the close of which is a manifest reference to our poem: the 93rd, consisting of only two lines, is written in a defiant tone towards Caesar, probably much about the same time as our 29th. Towards the end there are four obscure, unimportant and uninteresting, but most insulting elegiac epigrams, addressed to Mamurra under the name of Mentula which the 13th line of our poem must have fastened upon him among the 'boni': these

four with some other of the later elegiac pieces the world would willingly have let die. To one only of them shall I refer in conjunction with the 57th: the latter attacks both Caesar and Mamurra in a tone that would be even more offensive than that of our 29th, if its very excess of ribaldry did not loudly attest that it was only meant for petulant banter, one part of it flatly contradicting the other if taken in earnest. I shall condescend to say a word on two verses only, 6 and 7, which, illustrated by what we know of Caesar, we shall thus interpret: he and his first scientific officer, at the end of the year 55 and beginning of 54, used to be closeted together for hours every day in Verona, mapping out Gaul and arranging the march of the legions and the movements of the fleet, so that all should be assembled at the right moment in the Portus Itius for the second invasion of Britain; relaxing themselves at times by sketching out plans for draining the Pomptine marshes and enlarging Rome by changing the course of the Tiber. The 105th poem is as follows: 'Mentula conatur Pipleum scandere montem: Musae furcillis praecipitem eiciunt'; which rightly interpreted would mean that Mamurra not only possessed the special acquirements befitting Caesar's chief engineer; but had a taste for general literature and poetry as well; and perhaps retorted the insults of Catullus with less success, but equal goodwill, and let him know what 'Ameana puella' thought of *him*. But enough.

I have but little to add to the long exposition, reprinted above and written about ten years ago. Thanks to Grote and others we have now got over the habit,

which once prevailed, of building our judgments of Athenian statesmen on the libels of Aristophanes or Eupolis¹. But we do not seem to have yet completely learnt to extend the same justice to Romans, greater than Cleon and equals at the least of Pericles, and to treat with merited contempt the calumnies of Catullus and Calvus, which have even a smaller basis of reality than the scurrilous jests of Aristophanes. Catullus however belonged to one of the latest generations to which law and opinion conceded this unbridled licence: he himself can write with jaunty self-complacency 'Nil nimium studeo, Caesar, tibi uelle placere Nec scire utrum sis albus an ater homo'; and he would have been anything but flattered, if he could have read what the grave Quintilian says of him in XI 1 38, *negat se magni facere aliquis poetarum, utrum Caesar ater an albus homo sit, insania: uerte, ut idem Caesar de illo dixerit, adrogantia est*. Of course the almost unrestricted licence of assailing living personages which Aristophanes and Catullus possessed or usurped gave life to their attacks; and the strongest proof of Martial's unrivalled genius for epigram is the never-failing vigour and fecundity which his poems exhibit in dealing with wholly fictitious persons and incidents: *cum salua infimarum quoque personarum reuerentia ludant; quae adeo antiquis auctoribus defuit, ut nominibus non tantum ueris abusi sint, sed et magnis*.

I have to make a few, and only a few, criticisms on the criticisms which have been made on me. 4 ante: I am surprised to see Ellis still argue for *uncti*. 8 haut idoneus: this, the virtual reading of Mss., I still look upon as giving the most satisfactory sense; and I cannot, tho' the latest editor Baehrens accepts 'Adoneus',

¹ *κεκολλόπενκας· τοιγαροῦν ῥήτωρ ἔσει.*

see any suitableness in the comparison of the Catullian Mamurra with the beautiful and chaste Adonis. I do not deny that this or that passage may be found—in Greek, not Latin—where one may be called an Adonis for his beauty and youth alone. But Mamurra had neither youth nor beauty: Ellis actually quotes ‘*niueum Adonem*’ from Propertius where the poet is talking of Adonis’ death by the boar’s tusk; but Mamurra was not ‘*niueus*’ and was not killed by a boar. 20 *Et huicne Gallia et metet Britannia*: I am vain enough still to prefer this conjecture to any that has been made before or after it. Ellis still argues for his own conjecture, which wanders away from the Mss. and, as I have endeavoured to shew above, yields no proper sense. But a word on his criticisms of my reading: it ‘has always seemed to me unlike Catullus, not only in the position of *ne*, but in the place of *metet*, and the only half-obsured assonance *Gallia Britannia*’. The ‘half-obsured assonance’ is too refined for my ear, tho’, as I have observed elsewhere, I might, but would not, write ‘*et metent (metēt) Britanniae*’. Then as to the *ne* I protest it has, if not the only, yet far the best place it *can* have in the verse: it cannot be annexed to *Et*. I could cite 100 examples from all the best writers of *ne* having a position such as it has in Horace’s *Praeter cetera me Romaene poemata censet Scribere posse?* but I will confine myself to two or three examples which closely resemble *Et huicne*: Ter. Andr. 492 *aut itane tandem cet.*; eun. 848 *Sed estne hic Thais?* hec. 81 *Sed uideon Philotimum?* Plaut. most. 522 *Sed tu etiamne rogas?* will this suffice? But the place of *metet*? I presume he means that the natural position would be ‘*et Britannia metet*’: so it would be, but tho’ Catullus does not so often indulge, as Horace does, in these and

much more irregular arrangements of words, yet not only have I cited from him elsewhere several very much harsher collocations, such as: *Non, ita me diui, uera gemunt, iuerint*: an excessively strange and awkward sentence; but in the very next poem, 30 3 *Iam me pro-dere, iam non dubitas fallere, perfide?* and also 5 *Quom tu neglegis ac me miserum deseris in malis*, as I read, exactly resemble our passage: the first of the two Ellis must accept as a parallel. And surely to a criticism like this a *tu quoque* is allowable: well, this is Ellis' own verse '*Neque una Gallia aut metent Britanniae*'! As I said above, I cannot believe Catullus would have used the plur. '*Britanniae*'.

21 *malum*: I proposed above with hesitation to take this for the interjection: 'why, the mischief': this usage is common enough in Cicero, and I had marked down a passage, *de off.* II 53, which I observe is quoted by Ellis, beginning '*quae te, malum! ratio*', where Cicero is translating a royal address of Philip to his son Alexander. But, says Ellis, 'to me this seems beneath the dignity and the indignation of the poem'. In proceeding to comment on the other half of the verse: *quid hic potest Nisi*: he says it is a 'comic formula': thus in one and the same verse an expression which Cicero thinks not beneath the dignity and the indignation of Philip, sober and angry, is beneath the dignity and indignation of this verse; while a comic formula is not. Truly Ellis applies a different standard to his neighbour and to himself. The strongest argument perhaps, and one not mentioned by Ellis, for making *malum* the adjective, comes from Catullus himself, 64 175 *Nec malus hic...hospes*: but there the subst. makes a decided difference; and the repetition here of '*quid hic*' seems to me in favour of '*Quid hunc, malum!*'

But as I said above, I look on the point as a doubtful one. 23 : No one I fear will ever decide what is to be read here ; and I shall add nothing to what I have already said. It strikes me now, as it struck me before, to be a positive inanity for Catullus to say of Rome 'urbis o pudet meae', as Ellis makes him say ; nor can I accept the conjecture of the latest editor Baehrens.

24 Socer generque : there is certainly much to be said for Baehrens' Gener socerque, as Virgil has it in his parody. At the same time it does not strike me as certainly true : the poet is thinking much more of Caesar than Pompey, and might thus be disposed to put 'Socer' first ; while, as Pompey was the elder, another might be disposed to name him first ; and in the Aeneid 'Aggeribus socer cet.' the *socer* coming first is to me not without weight.

I would now, with somewhat more knowledge on the subject, add a very few words to what I have said above, p. 68, 69, about the poet's praenomen and the time of his birth. Ellis is, I verily believe, the one scholar living who still maintains his first name was Quintus, and not Gaius. Ellis appeals to the authority of Lachmann and Mommsen, as well as Scaliger. Lachmann, whom Mommsen followed, was ignorant of both G and O ; and took the interpolated Datanus for his chief authority. This codex, written in the latter half of the 15th century, with one or two satellites, calls the poet Q. Catulus, on the authority I believe of some interpolated Mss. of Pliny xxxvii 81. But there not one of Detlefsen's codices recognises this 'Q.', which is now banished for evermore from the text of Pliny. But, says Ellis (p. LIV), 'if the scribe of the Datanus was sufficiently educated to take the praenomen from Pliny, it is not likely that he would have made the mistake of

writing *Catuli* for *Catulli*'. Why, of the 3 best out of the four Mss. whose readings Detlefsen gives us in this part of Pliny, one has *Catulius*, the other two *Catulus*; and we find Catullus almost everywhere called *Catulus* in mediaeval times. 'Besides, if the Q. was taken from Pliny, we might expect to find in some one of the Mss. of Catullus a G. or C. taken from Jerome, of which there is no trace': this argument I cannot even apprehend; much less can I answer it.

I still hold it to be more probable that he was born in 84 than in 87 B.C. Professor Sellar, in his interesting account of Catullus in the *Encycl. Britan.*, observes with justice 'that the age at which a man dies is more likely to be accurately remembered than the particular date either of his death or of his birth. The common practice of recording the ages of the deceased in sepulchral inscriptions must have rendered a mistake less likely to occur in that respect than in respect of the consulship in which he was born'. Mr Sellar argues too that the '*iuuenalia*' in the passage from Ovid which I have cited above, p. 73, is better suited to the age of 30 than of 33; and this also I think with reason. For tho' *iuuenis* is a very elastic term, and tho' Domitius Marsus in his elegy on Tibullus, who died about the age of 35, calls him *iuuenem*, yet we must remember that Marsus was about the same age as Tibullus. But Ovid, when he wrote his epicedium on Tibullus, in which the word in question occurs, was only about 25; and a man of 25 does not see youth with the same eyes as an older man does. And to my ear '*iuuenalia*' has a more youthful ring than '*iuuenis*.'

30 1—6

Alfene inmemor atque unanimis false sodalibus,
 iam te nil miseret, dure, tui dulcis amiculi?
 iam me prodere, iam non dubitas fallere, perfide?
 nec facta impia fallacum hominum caelicolis placent.
 quom tu neglegis ac me miserum deseris in malis,
 eheu quid faciant, dic, homines cuiue habeant fidem?

5 quom scripsi. que V. 6 dico V. dice Ellis, perhaps rightly.

The only change which I have made on my own account in these verses, the last four of which have occasioned a good deal of difficulty to editors and induced some of them to make various transpositions and changes in the text, is in 5 to read *Quom* for *Que*, and to connect it closely with the next line: this seems to me to remove every difficulty. I assume that, *e* and *o*, as I have said, being almost indistinguishable in some predecessor of our Mss., *que* was copied from it instead of *quō*: thus 96 3 *Que* O, *Quo* G, *Quom* Guarinus, rightly I think: 66 79 *quem* V, *quom* Haupt rightly (Corradinus de Allio): if Ellis' *dice* in 6 be the poet's, it is another example of *o* and *e* confused. 4 *Nec* for *non*, so common in the older writers, I have illustrated very fully on *Lucr.* II 23: it has here, as often, the force of 'not at all'. Ellis' defence of *Quae* shews that he hardly thinks it can be defended.

31 7—14

O quid solutis est beatius curis,
 cum mens onus reponit, ac peregrino
 labore fessi uenimus nostrum ad larem

10 desideratoque acquiescimus lecto?
 hoc est quod unum est pro laboribus tantis.
 salve, o uenusta Sirmio, atque ero gaude:
 gaudete uosque, o uiuidae lacus undae:
 ridete, quicquid est domi cachinnorum.

13 uosque o uiuidae scripsi, uos quoque lidie V.

This bright poem is in most parts as pellucid as its own beautiful lake. In 1 the rare *paene insula* or *paeninsula* is illustrated by Caes. bell. Gall. vi 36 2 *paene obsessionem*; and Victorius uar. lect. ix 9 is worth comparing on *Ocelle* in 2. 8 peregr. Lab., 'labour undergone in foreign parts', in contrast with 'larem nostrum' seems quite capable of defence: Baehrens reads 'Ab orbe' for 'Labore'. But comp. Mart. xiii 29 *Pruna peregrinae carie rugosa senectae Sume*: 'age acquired in foreign parts': Livy iii 16 4 *id malum...tum quoque peregrino terrore sopitum uidebatur*: 'by terror arising from foreigners'; just as ib. § 3 'terror seruilis' means 'terror caused by slaves', tho' it might mean 'terror felt by slaves': comp. too 'praetor peregrinus' with 'mulier peregrina' 'uir peregrinus'.

13 has given occasion to nearly as many conjectures as 25 5: 'uosque o lucidae', 'limpidae', 'uos quoque incitae', have all been proposed, and may any of them be right. But neither Scaliger's 'ludiae' nor Lachmann's 'Libuae' seems to me admissible; nor again 'Lydiae'; for the transference of the epithet to 'undae' is very unlike Catullus, as well as the obtrusive antiquarian reference, the parts hereabout once on a time having belonged to the Etruscans, and the Etruscans being supposed to have come from Lydia. My reading was suggested by Mart. x 30 11 *Hic summa leni stringitur Thetis uento, Nec languet aequor, uiua sed quies ponti*

Pictam phaselon adiuuante fert aura. My 'uiuidae' is the same as the 'Nec languet' and 'uiuae' of Martial, and is surely as appropriate to the Benacus as to the Formian coast. Diplomatically too it is as near V, as any of the other readings except 'Lydiae'.

37

9 Atqui putate: namque totius uobis
frontem tabernae sopionibus scribam.

Is *sopionibus* corrupt, as it would appear to be? and, if so, is any of the numerous conjectures that have been made plausible enough to be received? One must first of all bring into comparison with it the often cited passage in Petron. 22 cum Ascyltos tot malis in somnum laberetur, illa quae iniuria depulsa fuerat ancilla totam faciem eius fuligine longa perfricuit et non sentientis labra umerosque sopitionibus pinxit. The two contexts are so much alike, that it is a most singular 'lusus codicum', if there is no real connexion between the two corrupt or apparently corrupt words. If there is such connexion, the word we want must express either the instrument—and a very simple instrument—or the material employed. The material must have been black to paint the lips; as the preceding 'fuligine' too implies. *scipionibus* can hardly be right; for why the plural; nor *scorpionibus*; for it is absurd to imagine the man's lips painted with scorpions. Whether we may assume an unknown word, as *sopionibus* with Vossius (or ? *sopitonibus*) for 'sopitis carbonibus', I will not attempt to decide.

But the whole resemblance may be a mere *lusus*, and the editors of Petronius may be right in taking

sopitionibus for the fragments of two words. This, as might be expected, is a very common phenomenon in Petronius: thus in the preceding line the corrupt 'fuligine longa' may represent something like 'fuliginis linea longa': in 45 at beg. I would read 'modo sic, modo sic, inquit rusticus suario cum [uarium codices] porcum perdiderat': h. e. suarius; nam rusticus in alieno malo libentius quam in suo philosophari solet: in 77 'interim dum Mercurius uigilat, aedificaui hanc domum. ut scitis, caecus carcer erat [cusuc erat codices], nunc templum est:' in 46 perhaps 'nec uno loco consistit. scit bene [uene] itidem [set uenit dem codices] litteras, sed non uult laborare.'

If Catullus then and Petronius are quite independent of one another, I will add one more conjecture to the many that have been made on this uncertain verse: namque totius uobis Frontem tabernae pusionibus scribam: *uobis* is then the abl. in apposition with *pusionibus*: 'I will scribble over the front of the whole tavern with you, nice young sparks'—probably both with their names and caricatures of their persons. 2310 b of the Pompeian wall-inscriptions 'Euplia hic cum hominibus bellis', and comp. ib. 1473 Martialis uos irrum—with v. 8 of our poem. Perhaps Catullus would write: Lesbia hic cum bellis hominibus, Egnatio, cet. and might give a caricature of Egnatius with his teeth and beard. *pusionibus* would be the same as the 'pusilli et semitarii moechi' of v. 16: Apul. met. ix 7 at uero adulter, bellissimus ille pusio; Cic. pro Caelio 36 (speaking to Clodia) minimum fratrem, ... qui te plurimum amat, qui ... tecum semper pusio cum minore sorore cubitauit. In v. 5 'hircos' can only mean 'olidos hircos': comp. the line, applied to the 'hirsuto atque olido seni' in Suet. Tib. 45 hircum uetulum Capreis naturam liguroire. 'Catul-

lus' says Ellis, 'after upbraiding the taberna and its frequenters for lewdness, would scarcely *contrast* them with an animal which is a type of this very quality'. I hardly catch the meaning of this: it is not Catullus who 'contrasts' them; but these fine fellows who draw the contrast themselves.

42

Adeste, hendecasyllabi, quot estis
omnes undique, quotquot estis omnes.

iocum me putat esse moecha turpis
et negat mihi uestra reddituram

5 pugillaria, si pati potestis.

persequamur eam, et reflagitemus.

quae sit quaeritis? illa quam uidetis

turpe incedere, mimice ac moleste

ridentem catuli ore Gallicani.

10 circumsistite eam, et reflagitate

'moecha putida, redde codicillos,

redde, putida moecha, codicillos'.

non assis facis? o lutum, lupanar,

aut si perditius potes quid esse.

15 sed non est tamen hoc satis putandum.

quod si non aliud pote, ut ruborem

ferreo canis exprimamus ore,

conclamate iterum altiore uoce

'moecha putida, redde codicillos,

20 redde, putida moecha, codicillos'.

sed nil proficimus, nihil mouetur.

mutanda est ratio modusque nobis,

siquid proficere amplius potestis:

'pudica et proba, redde codicillos'.

16 pote, ut *scripsi*. potest V. 17 ore, Conclamate *scripsi*. ore. Concl. *uulgo*.

I have printed the whole of this lively and humorous poem, not that I have anything to say, in addition to what has been said by others, on the greater part of it; but because I have long felt that there is a hitch in one portion, and wish to make my reasons clear for attempting to remove that hitch. I entirely go with Ellis in thinking that Lesbia cannot be the object of attack.

With vss. 11, 12 and 19, 20 I would compare Plaut. most. 600 *Mihi faenus reddat, faenus actutum mihi... Cedo faenus, redde faenus, faenus reddite. Daturin estis faenus actutum mihi? Daturne faenus?* 14 I keep the *potes* of G and O, that is of V: Cic. ad Att. xi 18 2 *sed hoc perditius, in quo nunc sum, fieri nihil potest; xiv 1 1 nihil perditius*, shew 'perditius' not to be 'unique'. 8 *Turpe*: surely not 'strictly an adverb', but the neut. acc. of the adjective, so often joined by the poets with verbs denoting any bodily action, as '*Perfidum ridens Venus*': in one of the passages which Ellis quotes from Cicero all editors now read '*turpi pace*'; in the other the adverb is '*hilarē*' from '*hilarus*'.

13 *o lutum, lupanar*: Cic. in Pis. 62 *o tenebrae, lutum, sordes*.

16 the manuscript reading here seems to me to interrupt the simple and natural progress of the poem: the words would properly mean: 'if nothing else can extort a blush from her brazen face'. But even assuming they can mean: 'if nothing else can be done, let us extort a blush': even thus the plain purport of this very simple poem is thwarted. The extorting a blush must surely be the same as shaming her into doing what we want. But in that case there is a most awkward stop at the end of 17; and 18 proceeds as if there was nothing between 15 and it. Westphal seems to

have sought to remedy this by putting 16 and 17 after 23, and reading *Quo, si* for *Quod si*: my remedy is much simpler and I think more efficacious: I change a single letter only and alter the punctuation after *ore*: 'if nothing else can do so, in order to extort a blush from her brazen face, bawl out once more in louder tones'. Catullus, like the older writers generally, employs *pote* for *potest* very freely; as 17 24, 45 5, etc. We might retain *potest* and read: *Ferreo ut canis exprimamus ore, Concl.*; but I prefer the other remedy.

45

Acmen Septimius suos amores
 tenens in gremio 'mea' inquit 'Acme,
 ni te perдите amo atque amare porro
 omnes sum assidue paratus annos
 5 quantum qui pote plurimum perire,
 solus in Libya Indiaque tosta
 caesio ueniam obuius leoni'.
 hoc ut dixit, Amor sinistra ut ante
 dextram sternuit approbationem.
 10 at Acme leuiter caput reflectens
 et dulcis pueri ebrios ocellos
 illo purpureo ore sauiata
 'sic' inquit, 'mea uita Septimille,
 huic uni domino usque seruiamus,
 15 ut multo mihi maior acriorque
 ignis mollibus ardet in medullis'.
 hoc ut dixit, Amor sinistra, ut ante,
 dextram sternuit approbationem.
 nunc ab auspicio bono profecti
 20 mutuis animis amant amantur.

unam Septimius misellus Acmen
 mauult quam Syrias Britanniasque:
 uno in Septimio fidelis Acme
 facit delicias libidinisque.

25 quis ullos homines beatiores
 uidit, quis Venerem auspiciorem?

8 *ut ante is corrupt. Perhaps sinister astans.* 9 *Dextra V.*

The whole of this poem too, the most charming picture in any language of a light and happy love, I have printed, in order to make clear the view I take of its action and motive, which seem to me not to have been quite rightly apprehended even by those editors, Scaliger, Vossius, Baehrens, etc., who have seen that v. 8 is corrupt. The *ut ante* has probably, as Baehrens says, come from 17, and may have displaced something quite different, such as 'sinister ipse', or 'manu sinistra' but my suggested 'sinister astans' gives the sense that is required. The scene which the poet paints is quite distinct to my mind, while from Ellis' notes I cannot gather how he represents the situation to himself; and Baehrens' 'sinistra ab Acme', as well as his punctuation of 17, is not compatible with my view of the matter.

Septimius is resting on a couch of some kind and is leaning with his right side against it: Acme is reclining on his bosom. They are both therefore looking more or less towards the left. Septimius declares that he loves her as dearly as mortal man can love. The moment he has said this, Love well-pleased, standing on their left, sneezes at them approval towards the right (as he must do, being as he is on their left). Then Acme, slightly bending back her head and kissing the sweet boy's eyes drunken with passion (which he would hold down to meet her lips), protests that her passion

is much stronger than his. The moment she had spoken this, Love on the left hand, just as before, sneezed at them approval towards the right. The twice-repeated omen encouraged them in their passion: 'Now starting from so fair an augury, soul answering soul, they love, are loved again'.

The poem, thus explained, is surely simple enough and keeps clear of all the 'difficulty' in which Ellis involves himself and it. 3 te perдите amo: 'amare coepit perdit' occurs twice in Terence. amare: this is more emphatic than Froelich's conjecture 'amore', accepted by Schwabe: 'te' then belongs to 'amo', to 'amare' and to 'perire'; for, since Catullus has in 35 12 Illum deperit inpotente amore, and in 100 2 'depereunt' with the accus. simply and without 'amore', and as Plautus Poen. iv 2 135 has the less usual 'hic alteram efflictim perit', also without 'amore', there seems no reason to refuse to Catullus the same construction 'perire te'; and 'amore' without an epithet would certainly be weak. With the change of word in '*amare* ... Quantum qui pote *perire*', I would compare Mart. x 86 1 Nemo noua caluit sic inflammatus amica, Flagrauit quanto Laurus amore pilae. There is even a greater hitch in Cat. 96 5 non tanto mors inmatura dolorist Quintiliae, quantum gaudet amore tuo. 12 comp. Apul. apol. 403 oris sauia purpurei.

The lost manuscript of Catullus, from which directly or indirectly all the others are derived, would appear to have handed down this trivial and uninter-

esting poem in the following shape, if we take no account of two verses repeated without meaning from a former poem, or of the heading which belongs to the next poem and has been wrongly inserted in this one :

Otonis caput oppido est pusillum
et eri rustice semilauta crura
subtile et leue peditum libonis
si non omnia displicere uellem
tibi et sufficio seniore cocto
irascere iterum meis iambis
inmerentibus unice imperator.

In the third number of our Journal I examined at some length the 29th poem in which Caesar and his friend Mamurra are assailed with so much wit and truculent virulence. The last two lines of our present poem contain a direct reference to the other, the *unice imperator* here distinctly pointing to the *imperator unice* there. It is however for critical purposes only that I now discuss this 54th poem, not for any historical or personal references, which are altogether unknown and, if they were known, would probably turn out to be of no importance whatever.

Three slight and manifest corrections were soon made in the manuscript text: *Otonis*¹ at once became *Othonis*; for *sufficio*, which does not appear to be a Latin name, from the time of Scaliger *Fuficio* or *Fufecio*, a well-known name, has been generally read; and *seni recocto* soon took the place of the unmeaning and

¹ *Otonis* I take to be the reading of the archetype, not the *Octonis* of most of the existing Mss. The Latin *ct* became *t* or *tt* in Italian; and for this reason an Italian would instinctively translate his own *tt* back into *ct*: Giotto calls himself *loctus*. For *otonis* then a scribe would at once write *octonis*, which he would know to be a Latin word. For similar reasons I believe the archetype had *eri*, not *heri*, in the second line. [Catullus probably wrote 'Otonis', as Baehrens now prints it.]

unmetrical *seniore cocto*, Scaliger clinching this emendation by these words : ‘glossarium interpretatur ἀπεφθον γέροντα cum hunc locum in animo haberet’.

But after these obvious changes have been made, most of the critics, old and new, look upon the poem as mutilated and unintelligible. Victorius speaks of its Cimmerian darkness; Muretus says that a Sibyl alone could interpret it, that it manifestly consists of mutilated fragments of different epigrams, incapable of being understood or corrected. Scaliger’s emendations are clumsy and his explanations wrong. Of recent editors two of the most eminent, Lachmann and Haupt, assume two lacunae, one after the third, the other after the fifth line. I will quote the poem in the shape in which it is presented to us by the two most recent critical editions. Ellis prints it thus :

Othonis caput oppido est pusillum ;

†et Heri rustice, semilauta crura,
subtile et leue peditum Libonis.

.

.

at non effugies meos iambos

.

.

si non omnia displicere uellem

tibi et Sufficio seni recocto

.

irascere iterum meis iambis

inmerentibus, unice imperator.

The verse in Italics is a fragment of Catullus which Ellis supposes to belong to this poem ; which in Lucian Mueller’s edition becomes two poems and assumes the following shape :

LIIII.

Othonis caput oppidost pusillum

* * *

Neri rustica semilauta crura,
subtile et leue peditum Libonis.

* * *

si non omnia displicere uellem
tibi et Fuficio seni recocto

LIIII^b.

Irascere iterum meis iambis
inmerentibus, unice imperator.

Though I dissent with diffidence from so many eminent authorities, I cannot conceal my belief that the poem is quite entire and unmutilated, and that the change of one other letter will render it perfectly intelligible, dispel the Cimmerian darkness and enable us to dispense with the Sibyl's assistance. Before offering any further explanations I will print the poem as I think Catullus may have written it :

Othonis caput (oppido est pusillum)

et, trirustice, semilauta crura,

subtile et leue peditum Libonis,

si non omnia, displicere uellem

tibi et Fuficio seni recocto :—

irascere iterum meis iambis

inmerentibus, unice imperator.

The proper interpretation of the whole poem appears to me to depend primarily on the right understanding of the words *si non omnia* ; and for this

uia prima salutis,

quod minime reris, Graia pandetur ab urbe;

or rather, I should say, not from a Greek city, but from the city of the Trojan Antenor. It is not known who Otho or Libo or Fuficius was, but it is plain that the poet means to say that Otho and Libo were favourites of Caesar and Fuficius, standing in the same relation to the former as he had scurrilously described Mamurra as doing in the 29th poem. I could wish, he says, that Otho's head (right puny it is) and, you thorough clown, those half-washed legs of his, and Libo's offensive habits, if not everything else about them, should disgust you. Then pretending to recall his former quarrel with Caesar, he breaks off abruptly with the words, 'you will be enraged a second time with my innocent iambics, O general without peer'.

Vulpius of Padua saw, as I have said, that this was the meaning of *si non omnia*, and he has illustrated the expression from Cicero pro Sestio § 7 *ut ille...si non omnem, at aliquem partem maioris sui deponeret*. But the phrase may be illustrated by other passages which I have given in my note on Lucretius III 406 *Si non omnimodis, at magna parte animai Priuatus*; II 1017 *Si non omnia sunt, at multo maxima pars est Consimilis*; Lucil. I 33 Muell. *Si non amplius, at lustrum hoc protolleret unum*. The *at* in these passages makes the antithesis more distinct, but it can hardly be necessary in a style like that of Catullus.

Schwabe, and before him Doering, accept the explanation of Vulpius, but like most of the editors they make more than one quite unnecessary alteration in the text. Thus nearly all omit the *est* of v. 1; but the parenthesis appears to me to add force to the expression; and parentheses are a very marked feature of most Latin styles, as I have shewn in my Lucretius. With our present passage compare Seneca Hippol. 35 *At*

Spartanos (genus est audax Auidumque ferae) nodo cautus Propiore liga. Then in v. 2 Schwabe with most others changes *rustice* to *rustica*; but the vocative is much more spirited and emphatic, the *semilauta crura* marking the coarse rustic. Of course I do not pretend that my reading 'Et, trirustice' is more than plausible; but I change but a single letter, and T and E are among the letters most frequently confused. With *trirusticus* I would compare not only *trigeminus*, but also Plautus' *trifur*, *trifurcifer*, *triparcus*, *triuenefica*. It is possible Catullus wrote *ter rustice*; it is quite possible too that a new name lurks in the manuscript reading, such as *Heri*, which many adopt. But, I confess, I think that the passage is more spirited without this third name, and that it is more probable Catullus should speak of Caesar and Fuficius as having the same relations with the same two persons than with the same three. This point however must remain uncertain: on the general meaning of the whole poem I feel no uncertainty whatever; or rather I would say that I should have felt none, if so many distinguished scholars had not found it so unintelligible.

I have not much to add to what I have reprinted above. The latest editor of the text Baehrens believes it like me to be one poem; but I confess he makes changes in the text which seem to me to be unnecessary. Ellis adheres to his former opinion: he gives four pleas for rejecting my arrangement, the third of which I will first examine: 'Even if we allow the first five lines to be consecutive, the aposiopesis before 'Irascere iterum' is immeasurably harsh, not to say unintelligible'. I deny that there is any 'aposiopesis' at all;

and I affirm that, so far from the transition being harsh or unintelligible, on it depends the main point of the poem: the poet in the first five lines makes his charge; and then bethinking himself of the similar charges he had made in 29, and of the proconsul's wrath which it had excited, he says: *Irascere iterum meis iambis Inmerentibus, unice imperator*: the last words at once recalling that poem and its *imperator unice*. What is there that is harsh or unintelligible here? Take the following transition, with an 'aposiopesis' as well, in Cic. pro Mil. 33: *De nostrum omnium—non audeo totum dicere. uidete quid ea uitii lex habitura fuerit, cuius periculosa etiam reprehensio est*. There you have something harsh and, if not unintelligible, yet not to be cleared up by any one now living, while I think I have made Catullus' meaning clear enough. Take again Mart. x 9 *Vndenis pedibusque syllabisque Et multo sale, nec tamen proteruo, Notus gentibus ille Martialis Et notus populis—quid inuidetis? Non sum Andraemone notior caballo*. Is that less harsh than our poem?

His fourth plea is this: 'Nothing is gained by interpreting the poem as a complete whole': my answer is that I think something is gained. His first plea, like the fourth, seems merely to be a plea in mitigation of his own most singular arrangement: the Mss. repeat here (as is by no means unusual with them) two lines which belong to another poem; therefore they may have also perpetrated the other enormities which he takes them to be guilty of; but from which I have rescued them. The second plea does not touch at all my general argument: 'The Mss. point to a proper name'. I have fully admitted that they may; but my reasons for thinking they did not were a quite subordinate, or rather a quite indifferent, point in the general argu-

ment. But why *Et eri*, the reading of V, should not come as easily from *Et tri rustice*, as from a proper name, I confess I do not see. The reason I have given above for my reading is 'that it is more probable Catullus should speak of Caesar and Fuficius as having the same relations with the same two persons than with the same three'. I now go farther, and think it likely that Catullus, using a peculiarity of syntax common in Latin, meant to say that Caesar had such relations with Otho alone; Fuficius with Libo alone: comp. Mart. II 2 1 Creta dedit magnum, maius dedit Africa nomen, Scipio quod uictor quodque Metellus habet; VI 13 7 Vt Martis reuocetur amor summique tonantis A te Iuno petat ceston et ipsa Venus; XI 48 Silius haec magni celebrat monimenta Maronis, Iugera facundi qui Ciceronis habet. Heredem dominumque sui tumulique larisque (so *Mss.* ue-ue *editions*) Non alium mallet Nec Maro nec Cicero.

I cannot say I approve of Baehrens' correction of v. 1: is not 'pusillum os' at the end of it an elision unexampled in Catullus? His correction of 4 is certainly not an obvious one: to confirm my own reading I would cite, in addition to those given above, Cic. epist. XVI 24 1 A Flamma, si non potes omne, partem aliquam uelim extorqueas: where, as in Catullus, *at* is absent.

55 1, 2 and 7—10

Oramus, si forte non molestum est,
2 demonstres ubi sint tuae tenebrae....
7 femellas omnes, amice, prendi,
quas uultu uidi tamen sereno.

â uel te sic ipse flagitabam:
 10 'Camerium mihi, pessimae puellae!'

8 sereno. serena V. 9 ipse. *perhaps* usque. inde *Baehrens*.

I will examine one sentence only of this involved and stiff poem, as nearly all the editors seem to have introduced unnecessary and hurtful changes there. 7 'I seized hold of all the wenches, whom I saw notwithstanding wear an untroubled countenance: ah, even so I continued to demand you of them: Camerius I want, you naughty girls'. *sereno* in 8 is the simplest correction: comp. too Mart. II 11 1 Quod fronte Selium nubila uides, Rufe. 9 I keep the Ms. reading, which editors have changed in very various ways. If any change is needed, I would simply read 'A! te uel sic': but this interposition of *te* between *uel* and *sic* is not I think unidiomatic: comp. Tib. (Sulpicia) IV 11 3 A! ego non aliter tristes euincere morbos Optarim quam *te si quoque* uelle putem; Mart. IV 1 9 12 *Nec sic in Tyria sindone cultus eris: i.e. ne in Tyria quidem sindone sic: IX 8 9 Dilexere prius pueri iuuenesque senesque; At nunc infantes te quoque, Caesar, amant: quoque* has such a position more than once in Lucretius: Illud in his quoque te rebus. tamen: though I thus seized upon them, they were quite untroubled, as if they knew themselves to be innocent. But *Baehrens* seems to me right in asserting that *ipse* has no meaning: *Ellis* says: 'with my own lips'; but how else could he ask? my *usque* suits the imperf. *flagitabam* well. 10 to illustrate the omission of the verb, see my note on 10 25.

57

Pulcre conuenit improbis cinaedis,
 Mamurrae pathicoque Caesarique.
 nec mirum: maculae pares utrisque,
 urbana altera et illa Formiana,
 5 impressae resident nec eluentur:
 morbosi pariter, gemelli, utrique
 uno in lecticulo, erudituli ambo,
 non hic quam ille magis uorax adulter,
 riuales sociei puellularum.
 10 pulcre conuenit improbis cinaedis.

7 lecticulo O Baehrens. lectulo G uulgo.

This short poem is on the same theme, and displays the same amazing impudence, as the 29th. All that I have to say on the personal and historical questions with which they deal has been discussed so fully in my comments on that 29th poem, that I can wholly dismiss them here. I think it well worth while however to examine the structure of the poem itself, as by a better punctuation I can, if I am not mistaken, both add to its point and do away with all occasion for tampering with the text which appears to be perfectly sound.

And first I would say that in v. 7 the *lecticulo* of O seems to me, as to Baehrens, to be almost certainly right, and to be one of the many gains for the text of Catullus which we owe to O and to O alone. I do not mean to say that the prosody of *lectulō* is impossible; but no scholar will deny I think that *lecticulo* gives us a rhythm far more in accordance with the technical rules which Catullus observes in his hendecasyllables.

But the form of the word? The two first declensions form their diminutives as a rule by the addition of *-ul*: uillula, mannulus, paruulus, pallidulus, puellus (puerulus), and a multitude of like forms: therefore 'lectus, *-i*, lectulus; pannus, *-i*, pannulus'. The third adopts a lengthened form, *-īcul*, sometimes *-ēcul*: cauliculus, colliculus, tristiculus, nubecula, uulpecula and the like. The fourth declension in this as in many other points follows the laws of the third: uersiculus, articulus, quaesticulus, anicula, manicula, corniculum. Now we learn from the lexicons that 'pannibus' is quoted from Ennius by Charisius, from Pomponius by Nonius: it was therefore once of the 4th as well as the 2nd decl., and consequently we find 'panniculus' as well as 'pannulus'. Ussing on Plaut. Amph. 509 (513) cites Priscian VI 73, who quotes Cornificius for the nom. plur. *lectus*, and this passage of Plautus for the gen. sing. *lectus*, and he is supported in this by the Mss. of Plautus: *lectus* therefore was once of the 4th decl. and conformably with this Catullus uses 'lecticulo'.

6 and 7: The exact force and meaning of these two verses I have brought out by a punctuation differing from that of all the editors, who join 'gemelli utrique', or else have recourse to conjecture, Haupt reading *tenelli*, Baehrens *macelli*, for the quite genuine *gemelli*. 'Tainted alike, true twin-brothers, both together on a single sofa, most learned witlings both'. Horace in his satires and epistles uses *gemellus* with much the same sarcastic force as Catullus and may have had him in his thoughts: we should compare too 100 3 hoc est, quod dicitur illud Fraternum uere dulce sodalicium; which shews the expression to be proverbial. utr. uno in lect.: Cic. in Pis. 67 Graeci stipati, quini in lectis, saepe

plures, ipse solus; Mart. iv 40 5 Tecum ter denas numeravi, Pontice, brumas; Communis nobis lectus et unus erat.

I would strengthen my argument on these two verses by calling in one whose aid I have often invoked already. Martial knew Catullus so thoroughly that I feel he had their words and rhythm in his mind when he wrote the last two lines of his ironical epigram, xii 40; the last 7 verses of which I will cite: Succurras misero, precor, furori Et serues aliquando neglegenter Illos qui male cor meum perurunt, Quos et noctibus et diebus opto In nostro cupidus sinu uidere, Formosos, niueos, pares, gemellos, Grandes, non pueros, sed uniuersos.

On v. 2 Ellis says: 'The *que*, joined as it is with *pathico* and thus standing between *Mamurrae* and *Caesarique*, distributes the vice equally to both': I am quite unable to see how *que* does this; it seems to me a simple instance of *que* joined with the 2nd instead of the 1st word of the clause, a usage not uncommon in Lucretius and some other writers: comp. also 76 11 *atque istinc teque reducis*. I doubt too whether Catullus meant *pathico* to refer at all to Caesar, tho' Schwabe also, *quaest.* p. 189, maintains it does. 1: Comp. Petron. 94 *et ego iracundus sum et tu libidinosus: uide quam non conueniat his moribus*.

59

1: If *rufulum* is the true correction of the Ms. *rufum*, I would read

Bononiensis rufa rufulum fellat
uxor Meneni.

I feel pretty sure that *rufa* is an epithet, not a name; for what point is there in the two names being the same? *rufus* was a common term of reproach: Ter. heaut. 1061 *rufamne illam uirginem, Caesiam, cet.*; Plaut. asin. II 3 20 *Macilentis malis, rufulus, aliquantum uentriosus, cet.*; Mart. II 32 *Cur non basio te, Philaeni? calua es: Cur non basio te, Philaeni? rufa es: cet.* with a point at the end which recalls our verse, like the Pompeian inscription 2421 *rufa, ita uale, quare bene felas: Mart. XII 32 4 uxor rufa crinibus septem; 54 Crine ruber, niger ore, cet.*: Catullus himself, 67 46 *ne tollat rubra supercilia. rufulum* I thought of long ago; and Ellis too I see refers to this word, tho' he retains the proper name. These *rufuli*, a peculiar kind of 'tribuni militum', were often appointed through mere favour by generals or consuls; often too they were idle young men of fashion. I was prepared to illustrate the subject; but its elaborate treatment by Marquardt, 2nd ed. II p. 353 foll., supersedes the necessity of doing this. I think it however not improbable that the poet wrote 'Rufum anuf fellat': the *anuf* might easily fall out between *um* and *f*. 3 comp. Ter. eun. 491 *E flamma petere te cibum posse arbitror.*

What I chiefly wish to dwell upon at present in this long and charming epithalamium is a question with regard to its metre, a question not without interest, as much of the beauty of the poem depends on its gay and elastic rhythm. One of the most striking characteristics of this and of that other glyconic poem,

the 34th, written in stanzas of four lines, is their strict observance of the Greek law of the synaphia. Every verse of the stanza, except the last which ends with a long or short at pleasure and takes no account whatever of what follows, must end with a long syllable, and a final vowel or *m* must not remain unelided before a vowel at the beginning of the next verse. The observance of this law by Catullus gives to his glyconics much of their charm and spirit; and its neglect by Horace is in my opinion one of the gravest defects in his glyconics and asclepiads. It will be seen however that in his fourth book his rhythm does not depart so widely from this law, as in his earlier books.

The 34th poem offers no metrical difficulty; but in our 61st all the recent editors without exception, obeying a ukase of Lachmann, have, greatly I think to the detriment of the poem, divided the stanza of five lines into two of three and two lines respectively. The reason for so doing is the following: according to most of their texts, in no less than 10 instances between v. 116 and 182—and in one other case of which I will speak farther on—this law would otherwise be violated: modum | O; abstine | O; eat | O; seruiat | O; annuit | O; forem | O; tibi | O; magis | O; uiri | O; puellulam | O. In these verses too they change no less than 22 times the Ms. *io* into *o*: if this be right, it points to designed interpolation in our Mss., the motive for which is not easy to detect. I would moreover call attention to the fact, that in vss. 4, 5, 39, 40, 49, 50, 59, 60; as well as in vss. 5, 10, 19, 25, 31, 38, 48, and 66 of the other epithalamium, the 62nd poem, in all of which the metre requires *o* before *Hymen* or *Hymenaeae*, the Mss. always give us *o*, never *io*. I would further observe that if in the ten instances, enumerated above,

nunc we will say were substituted for *io*, the rule of the synaphia and of the long final syllable would be observed in every case: if too in the line which always follows each of those ten lines specified, as well as in v. 143 (150), this *nunc* took the place of *Io*, the collision between *io* | *O* would be avoided. For mark this: while in 34 the last line of the stanza, and in our 61 every 5th line, end quite indifferently with a long or a short syllable: *Lună*, *Hymenaeae*, *nuptă*, etc.: this is never the case with the third verse of the stanza in 61: here the *nunc* would always restore the synaphia in full¹.

I come now to the main point: in all the 22 verses, affected by it, I substitute *Jo* for *Io* as Dawes suggested long ago, at the commencement; but I would not do this at the end of any verse: for example

Tollite, o pueri, faces:
flammeum uideo uenire.
ite, concinite in modum
jo Hymen Hymenaeae *io*,
jo Hymen Hymenaeae.

If this *jo* be conceded, all difficulty will disappear. Of course *io* (ἰώ) follows as a rule the Greek usage; and yet I believe that traces are to be found in popular and idiomatic Latin of the word, in conformity with Latin organs of speech, having become a monosyllable *jo* at the beginning of a line or a phrase. The word is not a common one in the popular styles: it does not

¹ Ellis and Baehrens retain the *io*, but yet both of them divide the stanza into two: Ellis observes: 'Sed primum *io* monosyllabum esse, bisyllabum alterum docent Dawesius Misc. Crit. p. 33, Vmpfenbachius in Melet. Plaut. p. 23. cf. Ouid. Met. v 625 Et bis *io* Arethusa uocauit *io* Arethusa. Mart. xi 2 5 Clamant ecce mei *io* Saturnalia uersus'. What Ellis' precise notion of the word is, I don't quite catch: in the line he quotes from Ovid, as elsewhere in that poet, *io* is a dissyll.

occur in Terence; and is found I believe in only two passages of Plautus: Pseudolus 702 and 703 is thus given in the Mss. io | Io tete turanne te rogo qui imperitas Pseudolo: Ritschl arranges the passage thus:

io

té, io te, turánne, te uocó, qui inperitas Pseúdolo:
would not the following be nearer the Mss. and more energetic?

io,

jó te te, turánne, te rogó, qui imperitas Pseúdolo¹.

The word occurs again in the Casina IV 3 3 and 10: from lack of proper manuscript material I can say nothing of 10; but 3 seems to stand thus in the codices: Io Hymen Hymenaeae io Hymen quid agis mea salus: I would propose

Jó Hymen Hymenaeé, jo jo Hýmen! | Quid agis, méa salus.

In Ribbeck's Com. frag. p. 273 we have a line of Aprissius (?), preserved by Varro, which rhythm and alliteration surely require to be written, as I have written it: Vt *quiritare* urbanorum, sic *iubilare* rusticorum: itaque hos imitatus Aprissius ait

Jo búcco! | quis me júbilat? | uicinus tuus antíquus.

Another popular phrase, found in Petronius 58 and Inscrip. Pompei. 2005 a, was 'io Saturnalia': now Martial writes in XI 2 5 Clamant ecce mei 'jo Saturnalia' uersus: for the conjectures, *uos*, *iam*, *bona*, are all weak and improbable. No doubt the Latins observed the

¹ I have just got the new *analecta Plautina*: p. 169 Loewe's reading of A gives to it *rogo*, not *uoco*, and supports the *te te* of FZ against the *te tete* of BCD. Perhaps we should read 'jo te rógo', which would improve the rhythm.

general rule of representing a Greek *ι* by *i*; but *io*, having been so long in popular use, may have come to be regarded almost as a Latin word. And Horace at the beginning of a verse turns into a *j* the first syllable of the Greek *Iulus*: Jule, ceratis ope daedalea; while the Romans did not hesitate so to treat foreign words, which came into Latin through the Greek, as *Judaeus*.

Another thing is worth noting in regard to *io*: V all the 11 times that the line 'Io Hymen Hymenaeae' recurs, added at the end another 'io'. This is strange, because it is not likely to have been interpolated in any manuscript which was written at a time when metre was understood; and on the other hand, when our archetype V was written, the world was so entirely ignorant of Catullus' lyrical metres, that, tho' a scribe might by accident have taken it from the preceding verse once or twice, he is not likely to have done so consistently. But another equally curious fact is to be observed: all the four times that the verse 'O Hymen Hymenaeae' recurs, V added 'Hymen' at the end. I am disposed to explain this curious double phenomenon as follows: this 'io' and this 'Hymen', thus placed *extra metrum*, perhaps were added in this way to mark the fact that after each stanza ending with 'O Hymen Hymenaeae' and with 'Jo Hymen Hymenaeae', the chorus made a pause, and shouted in the one case 'Hÿmen', in the other 'io', it may be in a louder tone, it may be more than once.

This too makes it impossible in my opinion to maintain that our stanza of five lines is really two stanzas, of three and two lines respectively: one of the essential properties of these glyconic odes is that the stanza end with a completed sentence, the final syllable being quite independent of the stanza following. The same

general principle holds good in that third glyconic poem, the 17th, in which each of the long lines is really a stanza of two lines, the first of which is subject to the laws of synaphia, the latter is quite independent of them: *Liuidissima maximeque | est profunda uorago.*—*Insulsissimus cet.* Now not only does the synaphia hold, as we have observed, between the 3rd and 4th vss. of our stanza; but where the same refrain is repeated four times over in the two last lines of the stanza, it is introduced each time with exactly the same general run; as for instance in the first of these stanzas: *Qui rapis teneram ad virum Virginem, o Hymenae Hymen, O Hymen Hymenae*, the stanza thus as it were ostentatiously proclaiming itself to be one and indivisible.

The sole exception, or apparent exception, that remains to be considered, is in the last stanza but two:

Sit suo similis patri
Manlio et facile insciis
noscitur ab omnibus
et pudicitiam suae
matris indicet ore.

Dawes cures this by transposing *omnibus* and *insciis*: it is possible Catullus may have lengthened the emphatic syllable of the verse, as Virgil has so often done with *-ūs*; it is possible too that some one of the corrections that have been made, such as *obuiis* or *aduenis*, may be the true reading; for *omnibus* does not strike me as well suited to its place, and *obuiis* for instance might readily pass into an abbreviation of *omnibus*: compare the double reading *obuia* and *omnia* of G in 64 109. Anyhow one apparent exception in nearly 50

stanzas is in my judgment quite insufficient to establish or to upset any law.

Years ago I was surprised to see the last two lines of the stanza just quoted quite misunderstood in Ellis' translation: 'Mother's chastity moulded in Features childly revealing'. The true meaning ought to be beyond dispute: however, as a confirmation of that meaning, I jotted down Martial's imitation, VI 27 3, *Est tibi, quae patria signatur imagine uoltus, Testis maternae nata pudicitiae*; and this passage I afterwards found was given by Mr Cranstoun in illustration of his correct and spirited translation. My surprise is now increased to find these very lines cited by Ellis in support of his wrong explanation, to which they are quite irrelevant: '*Suae* is emphatic, a mother truly his own, perhaps with some notion of the son repeating the mother's features, as the daughter the father's, *Lucr. IV 1226*': the words of course mean simply: let him bear witness to his mother's chastity by shewing in his face a strong likeness to his father and thus proving himself to be his father's son. His note too on 201 is not correct, and his illustrations are irrelevant: '*Subducatur prius qui uolt*' is not 'unusual'. There is no protasis and apodosis here, and *Subducatur* is not a 'strict subjunctive', but a simple imperative: 'Let him who wills to reckon up your joys, first take the tale of the sands and the stars'. 114 *Tollite, o pueri*: surely *o* should be added, not *en* with Baehrens: it is only another instance of the ever-recurring confusion of *e* and *o* in our Mss. to which I have so often drawn attention: in the very next line *O* has *uido* for *uideo*, where the *e* is absorbed in *o*.

63 1—11

Super alta uectus Attis celeri rate maria
 Phrygium ut nemus citato cupide pede tetigit
 adiitque opaca siluis redimita loca deae,
 stimulatus ibi furenti rabie, uagus animi,
 5 deuolsit ilei acuto sibi pondera silice.
 itaque ut relictas sensit sibi membra sine uiro,
 etiam recente terrae sola sanguine maculans
 niueis citata cepit manibus leue typanum,
 typanum tubam Cybelles, tua, mater, initia,
 10 quatiensque terga taurei teneris caua digitis
 canere haec suis adorta est tremebunda comitibus.

5 Deuolsit *Haupt*. Deuoluit V. ilei acuto *Bergk*. iletas acuto V. pondera *Auantius*. pondere V. 9 tubam *corrupt.* perhaps ac typum. tuom, Cybebe *Lachmann*.

5 has been brought into its present shape by the corrections, in different ages, of Auantius, Bergk (*Lachmann*) and Haupt, and has been rightly I think accepted by Mueller, Schwabe and Baehrens. To adopt, with Haupt and Ellis, *Lachmann's* *ile* is to give to the word an unauthorised sense, nor can *Deuoluit* I think stand, tho' Ellis retains it: the 'iletas acuto' of Mss. would seem to have come from the doubling of the syll. *ac* in *acuto*. I shall, when I come to the 65th poem, give many other examples of this trick from our Mss. Not only does the verse in this form yield a most appropriate sense; but it receives very great support from a passage in the fourth book of the *Fasti*, in writing which Ovid must have had 5 and 6 of our poem in his mind. He is telling at length the story of Attis and Cybele, of the 'Phryx puer in siluis, facie spectabilis, Attis': then in v. 237 we come to: Ille

etiam saxo corpus laniauit *acuto*...Voxque fuit 'merui ...A! pereant partes quae nocuere mihi': 'A! pereant' dicebat adhuc: *onus inguinis aufert, Nullaque sunt subito signa relictæ uiri.*

9 'tubam' carries no sense with it to my mind, either in its literal meaning, or, as Ellis takes it, in a metaphorical: again it is not very obvious how 'tuom, Cybelle' would pass into 'tubam Cybelles'. 'Typanum ac typum Cybelles' has occurred to me from seeing how often the two words are joined together: Dionys. Antiq. II 19 ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς ἔθος, τύπους τε περικείμενοι τοῖς στήθεσι...καὶ τύμπανα κροτοῦντες: see too Polybius cited by Suidas s. u. Γάλλοι: παρὰ ἸΑττιδος καὶ Βαττάκου τῶν ἐκ Περσικοῦ ἱερέων τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ἔχοντες προσθηθῖδια καὶ τύπους: *ibid.* ἀπέστειλε νεανίσκους, διασκευάσας εἰς Γάλλους, μετ' αὐλητῶν ἐν γυναικείαις στολαῖς ἔχοντας τύμπανα καὶ τύπους: comp. too the very odd story told of Anacharsis by Herodotus VI 9: τὴν ὀρτὴν πᾶσαν ἐπετέλει τῇ θεῷ, τύμπανά τε ἔχων καὶ ἐκδησάμενος ἀγάλματα, and the imitation by Clemens Alex. quoted by Wesseling. The plural *τύποι* is used of the Galli; and I infer that the *τύποι* were chiefly medallions of Cybele and Attis. Now Attis naturally would wear only a medallion of Cybele, which he would hang round his neck or perhaps on his left wrist: comp. Suet. Domit. 4 certamini praesedit...capite gestans coronam auream cum effigie Iouis ac Iunonis Mineruaeque, adsidentibus Diali sacerdote et collegio Flauialium *pari habitu, nisi quod illorum coronis inerat et ipsius imago.* *typos* is found in Cic. ad Att. I 10 3, written 67 B.C.: the strange *typum* or *tupum* would naturally be corrupted into a Latin word: thus in Cic. l. l. M has *lypos*, which Ienson's edition turns into *lippos*; and in Pliny xxxv 151 the Bamb. has *tyrum* for *typum*. Suidas s. u.

τυπαῖς has ἔχοντα τύμπανα καὶ τυπάς: I had something to say on this; but shall refrain. The 'typanum ac typum' suits 'tua initia' better than 'typanum' by itself.

ib. 74—77

Roseis ut hic labellis sonitus *citus* adiit
geminas deae tam ad auris noua nuntia referens,
ibi iuncta iuga resoluens Cybele leonibus
laeuumque pecoris hostem stimulans ita loquitur.

74 hic, hinc V. *citus* addidit Bergk. sonus editus Froelich, Schwabe. perhaps sonus excitus. 75 deae tam ad scripsi. deorum ad V. 77 pecoris uetus correctio. pectoris V.

In 74 perhaps Bergk's *citus* is the simplest diplomatic correction, tho' I am not certain that Catullus would have used *citus* as a partic. But Froelich's *sonus editus* is also an easy correction; as well as my *sonus excitus*, and Catullus elsewhere uses *excitus* no less than three times. In 75 not a few violent corrections have been made, which may be seen in the notes of various editions. I feel confident that *Geminas* comes from the poet himself: my *dee tam* for *deorum* is certainly not a violent change, when we bear in mind, what I have so often insisted upon, the almost chronic way in which our Mss. interchange *o* and *e*, *t* and *r*: 'When these sounds, uttered from his rosy lips, came bringing with them to the two ears of the goddess tidings so strange and novel'. With 'deae—Cybele' comp. 3 deae, 9 Cybelles. *geminas auris* is very idiomatic: 51 10 sonitu suo pte Tintinant aures geminae¹: Ovid has 'Auribus

¹ I cannot enough wonder at Ellis' continued retention of the absurd *gemina*, and all to save the change of an *a* to an *e* in our Mss.

e geminis', and 'geminas manus'; the Culex, which often imitates Catullus, 148 'geminas aures'; Virgil 'Temporibus geminis': Martial 'geminas manus'.

64 1—28

Peliaco quondam prognatae uertice pinus
dicuntur liquidas Neptuni nasse per undas
Phasidos ad fluctus et fines Aeeteos,
cum lecti iuuenes, Argiuae robora pubis,
5 auratam optantes Colchis auertere pellem
ausi sunt uada salsa cita decurrere puppi,
caerula uerrentes abiegnis aequora palmis.
diua quibus retinens in summis urbibus arces
ipsa leui fecit uolitantem flamine currum,
10 pinea coniungens inflexae texta carinae.
illa rudem cursu prima imbuit Amphitriten.
quae simul ac rostro uentosum proscidit aequor,
tortaque remigio spumis incanduit unda,
emersere freti candenti e gurgite uultus,
15 aequoreae monstrum Nereides admirantes.
illac (quaque alia?) uiderunt luce marinas
mortales oculis nudato corpore Nymphas
nutricum tenus extantes e gurgite cano.
tum Thetidis Peleus incensus fertur amore,
20 tum Thetis humanos non despexit hymenaeos,
tum Thetidi pater ipse iugandum Pelea sensit.
o nimis optato saeculorum tempore nati
heroes, saluete, deum gens, o bona matrum
23^b progenies, saluete iterumque iterumque, bonarum:
uos ego saepe meo uos carmine compellabo,
25 teque adeo eximie taedis felicibus aucte
Thessaliae column Peleu, cui Iuppiter ipse,

ipse suos diuum genitor concessit amores.
tene Thetis tenuit pulcherrima Nereine?

11 primam G. praeram: *in marg.* proram O. 13 Tortaque Itali. Totaque V. 14 freti Schrader. feri V. 16 Illac (quaque alia?) scripsi. Illa atque alia V. uidere V. 23 gens schol. Veron. genus V, uulgo. matrum schol. Veron. mater: al. matre superscr. G. mater O. 23 b om. V. Progenies saluete iter schol. Veron. 28 Nereine Haupt. nectine V.

I have printed and will discuss only a few lines of this the longest and most elaborate poem of Catullus. His study of the Alexandrine poets would seem to have persuaded him that an epyllion was needed to make a body of poems complete; and he has therefore composed this poem which I have given reasons elsewhere for believing to be one of his very latest. Led no doubt by similar motives, his friend Gaius Helvius Cinna, who, as I have argued in my dissection of the 95th poem, was probably somewhat older than Catullus, wrote and published his laboured Zmyrna; and his intimate associate Gaius Licinius Calvus composed his epyllion Io. 1 and 15 are both imitated by Ovid am. II 11 1 Prima malas docuit, mirantibus aequoris undis, Peliaco pinus uertice caesa uias. 11: I am convinced that the *proram* of O is a mere delusion, designed or undesigned, of the scribe, which presented itself to his thoughts and pen in connexion with a ship: to my taste it destroys the beauty of the line and leaves *Illa* wholly without meaning. Can there be a doubt that Seneca, who has more than once as we have seen had Catullus before him in his tragedies, was thinking of this line when he wrote in Troad. 215 Inhospitali Telephus regno inpotens... *Rudem cruore regio dextram inbuit?* the very construction of Catullus, which Martial, cited by Ellis, also has: so too Val. Flacc. I 69 *ignaras Cereris qui uomere terras Imbuit*; who also imitates the syntax

of Catullus, and was probably thinking of him, as the *ignaras* has the exact force of *rudem*: 'She first hand-selled by this run the maiden and untried Amphitrite'. Ov. met. i 14 probably got his Amphitrite from Catullus.

13 Tortaque remigio, and 7 Caerula uerrentes abiegnis aequora palmis: comp. Aen. iii 207 remis insurgimus: laud mora nautae Adnixi torquent spumas et caerula uerrunt: the 2nd v. is repeated in iv 583: if there is one certain correction in Catullus, *Torta* for *Tota* must be right. 13 incanduit unda, 14 candente gurgite, 18 e gurgite cano: Lucr. ii 764 Cur ea... Marmoreo fieri possint candore repente, 767 canos candenti marmore fluctus, 771 Continuo id fieri ut candens uideatur et album: the repetitions in the two poets are very much alike: Ciris 320 candentes canos. 14 *freti* for *feri* seems to me the simplest correction of this verse, which surely needs correction; for *feri* cannot stand and *uultus* must be an accus.; not a nom. in appos. with *Nereides*. To be sure, tho' *emersus* and *emergere se* are indisputable, 'emergere uultus' is not so certainly admissible. Yet I cannot help thinking that the author of the Dirae in 56 and 57 is imitating Catullus and that *corpora* must, like *uultus* here, be the accus. not the nomin. which would be very bald: Monstra repentinis terrentia saepe figuris Cum subito emersere furenti corpora ponto: for thus Haupt punctuates; and the position of *Cum* is a good parallel to 22 9. *freti* for *feri* is an easy correction, as *r*, *t*, *tr*, *rt*, as we have again and again had reason to shew, are among the letters most frequently confounded in our Mss. 16 Illac (quaque alia?): this I think is a more elegant correction and gives a better rhythm than Schwabe's, or older corrections, tho' Ellis takes no notice of it: *t* and *c* are often

interchanged in our Mss. and all Mss. alike are apt to omit one syll. of a word like *quaque*: 36 14 we find *Colisque* for *Colis quaeque*: 'on that day—and on what other in all time?—did mortal men cast eyes on the naked nymphs, as they rose breast-high out of the hoar deep'. I must say both Mueller's and Baehrens' violent corrections to my taste greatly spoil the picture.

23: The Virgilian scholia of the Verona palimpsest give us in a correct form the end of this line and half of the next, which has disappeared entirely in our Mss. Ellis alone among recent editors has rejected this gift with contumely: 'The weight of the Veronese Scholia' he says, 'imperfect and full of lacunae as they are, is not to be set against our Mss.; it is difficult to imagine any mode of filling up the lacuna which would not either be weak or load the sentence unnecessarily'. It is thus he can find in his heart to speak of what was once one of the most glorious codices that have come down from ancient times, written in the full blaze of the old classical world. Not to be set against our Mss. ! bad transcripts all of an archetype written when the gloom of mediaeval barbarism was at its deepest: and where too it preserves a line which they have lost, tho' Ellis does not hesitate to impeach these very Mss. of scandalous absurdity, in the way of omission, when he is dealing with our 54th poem. It is true these scholia are now in a very tattered state; but both Mai and after him Keil print: *Catullus, Saluete deum gens o bona matrum Progenies saluete iter*: without a hint that there is any doubt about any one of the magnificent letters of the original. Of the genuineness of this half verse I have no more doubt than of that of any other verse whatever in Catullus. Nay more, I do not see why all editors reject its 'deum gens' for the

'genus' of V; as I feel pretty sure that Virgil had Catullus in mind, when he wrote 'deum gens, Aeneas'. 'matrum' too must be the poet's: nay the double reading 'mater' and 'matre' in G indicates that the final letters were obscured in V or in V's predecessor. Nor do I think it 'difficult' to fill up the verse as the poet may have written it; tho' none of the editions satisfies my mind: for the 'bona matrum' has no point unless the next line contained an epithet of *matrum*, which was as emphatic as *bona*, or more so. My reading then surely gives us what we want: 'right worthy progeny of right worthy mothers'. The joining of the mothers with the fathers is not without a purpose; for Catullus may well have thought as Euripides did in his *Meleager*: Stob. OB 12 ἡγησάμην οὖν εἰ παραζεύξειέ τις Χρηστῷ πονηρὸν λέκτρον, οὐκ ἂν εὐτεκνεῖν, Ἐσθλοῖν δ' ἀπ' ἀμφοῖν ἐσθλὸν ἂν φῦναι γόνον. I have never comprehended Ellis' defence of *mater*. 28 Nereine: this is nearer the Mss. and in other respects far preferable to the very suspicious *Neptunine*. All the patronymics quoted by Ellis are from Greek words: *Neptunus* is a pure Latin word.

31 optatae finito. optato finito G, optato finite O: another of the many many proofs of *o* and *e* being almost indistinguishable in our Mss.: this fact makes Guarinus' correction in 309 'roseae niueo' for the 'roseo niuee' of V highly probable.

48 Indo quod dente politum: 'which formed of the Indian tusk and finely wrought'. Comp. Virgil's 'pictas abiete puppes'.

82 quam talia Cretam Funera Cecropiae nec funera portarentur: comp. Ov. met. VIII 231 At pater infelix nec iam pater 'Icare' dixit: the *nec* seems really the same as *non*, of which I have spoken at 30 4: it

may therefore perhaps be compared with the 'per non medium', the 'a non sensu' and the like which I have illustrated in my note on Lucr. I 1075.

ib. 105—11

Nam uelut in summo quatientem bracchia Tauro
quercum aut conigeram sudanti cortice pinum
indomitus turbo contorquens flamine robur
eruit (illa procul radicitus exturbata
prona cadit lateque comeis *obit* obuia frangens),
sic domito saeuum prostrauit corpore Theseus
nequiquam uanis iactantem cornua uentis.

109 comeis obit obuia *scripsi*. cum eius obuia V.

I confess to setting some store on my emendation of 109, on which so many conjectures have been made. *comeis* might pass at once into *cum eius*, especially when the latter was written compendiously, as it is in O at all events; and *obit* might readily be absorbed in *obuia*: nay it may represent the double reading 'omnia' in G: comp. my emendation *obit* for *omnia* (*ouit* for *oia*) in Lucil. XXVII 35 M. Whoever has seen a tree fall to the ground with its leaves on, must have marked the sweep and crash made by them as they first come into contact with the ground and spread themselves out. With 105 *bracchia*, and 109 *comeis*, comp. Aen. XII 209 *posuitque comas et bracchia ferro*; Georg. II 368 *tum stringe comas, tum bracchia tonde*.

ib. 272, 273

Quae tarde primum clementi flamine pulsae
procedunt leuiterque sonant plangore cachinni.

leuiterq; sonant O, leviter sonant G. leni resonant *uulgo*.

That O here too is right against G and other Mss. we have a strong confirmation in Sen. Agam. 680 licet Alcyones Ceyca suum Fluctu leuiter plangente sonent: see my note on 23 10 for this and other apparent reminiscences of Catullus' language in Seneca.

Catullus must have taken great pains to improve the rhythm and prosody of his two hexameter poems, as we may see if we compare him with any of his predecessors, such as Ennius or Cicero. In respect of elisions he is much less harsh than he is either in his hendecasyllables or in his elegiacs; and comes much nearer in these two poems to the rules which prevailed after his time. This is very remarkable and contrary to the usage of subsequent masters, Virgil for instance, if he be compared with Ovid and Martial. It is another proof too, in addition to those which I have given in my Lucretius, that 64 is one of his latest poems. In his elegiacs, even in the last half of the pentameter, he has the very harshest rhythms and elisions, such as 'perdito amore fore'. In his hendecasyllabic poems, even in the sweetest of them, his elisions are quite as harsh, judged by the standard of Martial and Statius: even in his 45th he does not balk at such rhythms as 'Ni te perдите ámo átque amare porro', where a long vowel is elided before the *accentuated* short syllable of an iambus, while the final syllable of this very iambus is elided before another *accentuated* syllable. When we observe how cautious Martial is in his elisions, it is a strong proof of the charm of Catullus that even these excessive harshnesses, as they must have been to Martial's ear, do not seem to have lessened in the least his love for his great master. Still more striking will this love and admiration appear, when we remember that to Martial the first foot of a hendecasyllable

must be a spondee, while Catullus most freely substitutes for it both trochees and iambi. We are used to learn our hendecasyllables from Catullus, our elegiacs from Ovid: therefore we look on Catullus' elegiacs as excessively harsh in rhythm and prosody; but do not feel his hendecasyllables to be so. This is the mere result of habit: to Martial and Statius the rhythms and elisions of the one class of poems were just as harsh as those of the other, while the elisions of the hexameter poems would have seemed much more modern and regular. So intolerable to the prosaic Pliny the elder was an iambus for the first foot of the hendecasyllable that, in quoting a verse from the first poem of Catullus, he coolly transposes the words and writes: *Nugas esse aliquid meas putare*¹.

¹ hist. praef. 1 'namque tu solebas *Nugas esse aliquid meas putare*', ut obiter emolliam [so *Barbarus*, *Gronovius*, *Mommsen in Hermes* i p. 128, and others: obicere molliam *codices*] Catullum conterraneum meum (agnoscis et hoc castrense uerbum). ille enim, ut scis, permutatis prioribus syllabis duriusculum se fecit quam uolebat existimari a Veraniolis suis et Fabullis. Pliny 'softens in passing the harshness of his *conterraneus* Catullus' by transposing *meas* and *nugas*. 'For he, as you know, by his way of changing the quantity of one or other of the two first syllables of the verse, shewed himself in this to be somewhat more rough than he would have liked to be accounted by his dear Veranioli and Fabulli'. It will be seen that Detlefsen's Mss., which are all late in this part of Pliny, while they give the 'namque tu solebas', which would be also the prose order of the words, without any variation, all arrange the following line in a way which is not verse, and each of them has a different arrangement. This is a proof that, finding the words in what struck them as a most unnatural order, they tried each in its own way to give them a more natural arrangement: see my note on Lucil. II 22, *Journ. Philol.* VII p. 298, where I simply read 'quae nunc ego praecanto Aemilio [quae ego nunc Aemilio praecanto *codices*] atque exigo et excanto'. Haupt's very obvious correction therefore seems to me almost a certain one. When Baehrens on Catullus I. 1. gives to Pliny 'Istas esse aliquid putare nugas', he appears to me to depart more widely from the Mss. than Haupt and Mommsen do. Again I do not see the necessity of his 'primoribus'; for 'prioribus' I think signifies 'the two first syllables' of the verse; just as Lucil. XXVIII 7 uses 'posterioribus *στρούξελοις*' to express the 'last two' in contradistinction to the other two elements.

Ellis in his first volume has an excursus on this passage of Pliny, to which he still adheres in his commentary. He follows an antiquated reading, which

Catullus has done much to improve the cadences of the Latin hexameter, if the small compass of his poems be taken into consideration; and, tho' all his innovations may not be improvements, Virgil's obligations to him are by no means insignificant. That he has effected these improvements mainly by a careful study, and by a partial adoption, of the rhythm of the Greek heroic, will not escape any competent observer. I will call attention here to one point only, which I have never seen noticed by any one else. One of the most striking features of the Greek hexameter, which marks the verses of all poets alike from Homer to Nonnus, is the free use of trochaic cadences in the first half of the verse and the systematic avoidance of them in the middle of the fourth dactyl: *Αὖτις | ἔπειτα | πέ-
δονδε | κυλίνδετο λᾶας ἀναιδής*. Virgil and other careful writers of Latin verse employ this trochaic rhythm very much less than the Greeks do, in the first part of the verse. But on the other hand they, most of them, do not shun this trochaic rhythm in the middle of the fourth dactyl: *auditque uocatus Apollo—uolu-
crique simillima somno*; tho' the Greeks, unless in the most exceptional circumstances, entirely reject this cadence. And Catullus too never once admits it in his two hexameter poems, containing between them 474 verses. Ennius is careless enough in this as in many other matters: he has this cadence some 25 times in about 500 verses. Lucretius avoids it most in his

is much farther from the Mss. than Mommsen's; and his whole explanation thwarts completely in my judgment the plain sense of Pliny's words. By 'agnoscis et hoc castrense uerbum' Pliny simply means 'in this term *conterraneus* too (as in other terms which I have employed in former letters to you) you will recognise a word of the camp'. Again, tho' to us Catullus' elegiacs may be harsher than his hendecasyllables, it does not follow that they were so to Pliny.

most poetical and most carefully written parts. Cicero, unless I am mistaken, throughout about 750 verses always observes this Greek rule, except once only: Cum caeloque simul noctesque | diesque feruntur: and 'noctesque diesque' may be almost regarded as a single word. Ovid uses this cadence very freely, much more freely than Virgil: he has 70 instances in the 778 lines of *Metam.* i. Perhaps the more careful Latin poets so often employ this cadence, because they dislike, or seldom use, what is with the Greeks the most favourite of all rhythms: Aeternum frangenda bidentibus: omne leuandum; and words like 'bidentibus', 'simillima', etc. can hardly be brought into the verse, without employing one or other of these two rhythms. Where however he has Greek names to deal with, Virgil luxuriates in this Greek cadence: in *Geor.* iv 336—343 he has four instances of it within eight verses, and again in 463 *Atque Getae atque Hebrus et Actias Orithyia*¹.

65 1—18

Etsi me assiduo defectum cura dolore
seuocat a doctis, Ortale, uirginibus,
nec potis est dulcis Musarum expromere fetus
mens animi (tantis fluctuat ipsa malis :

¹ We can hardly be wrong in assuming that Catullus, in respect of the hexameter as well as of his other metres, would take counsel with Cinna and Calvus. Pseudo-Probus p. 226 5 Keil: *is syllaba nominatiui casus brevis est masculino siue feminino genere atque communi...: feminino, ut Caluus in Io 'Frigida iam celeris uergatur. uistinis ora':* so the Ms. 'celeri peragrata Borysthenis ora' Parrhasius. '*fortasse celeri superata*' Keil. This makes Calvus violate the law which Catullus observes so carefully. Why not rather 'celeri superatur Bistonis ora', or something such? By this we shall also save the credit of the poor grammarian, whom the other readings impeach of most scandalous ignorance, as a feminine nominative is the cause of his quoting the verse.

5 namque mei nuper Lethaeo gurgite fratris
 pallidulum manans alluit unda pedem,
 Troia Rhoeteo quem subter litore tellus
 ereptum nostris obterit ex oculis.
numquam ego te primae mihi ademptum in flore
iuuentae,
 10 numquam ego te, uita frater amabilior,
 aspiciam posthac. at certe semper amabo,
 semper maesta tua carmina morte canam,
 qualia sub densis ramorum concinit umbris
 Daulias absumpti fata gemens Itylei):
 15 sed tamen in tantis maeroribus, Ortale, mitto
 haec expressa tibi carmina Battiadae,
 ne tua dicta uagis nequiquam credita uentis
 effluxisse meo forte putes animo.

1 confectum G. 2 Senocat *Itali*, *vulgo*. Sed uacat V. Deuocat *Baehrens*.
 3 dulcissimus harum V. 9 *om.* V. 12 morte canam *Itali*. morte tegam V.

The Ortalus here addressed is probably the famous orator Q. Hortensius Ortalus, the friend and rival of Cicero, whose name Hortensius by some strange freak of chance has got mixed up with our 95th poem. Our present poem must have been composed much about the same time as 68 a, and probably at Verona, where that poem was written, in his father's house we may surely assume. He has no books to send to Manlius and will not write him love-poems. But we see he is ready to divert his sorrow by translating for Ortalus Callimachus' *Coma Berenices*.

9 : The verse I have given probably comes pretty near the sense of the one which is lost : if its commencement was the same as 10, its falling out can readily be accounted for. The strange 'Datanus' has a barbarous ungrammatical interpolation : Alloquar, au-

diero numquam tua loquentem: which Ellis in my opinion vainly tries to explain. 12 morte canam: this seems a certain correction of the Ms. 'morte tegam': from the great similarity of letters *canam* became *cam*, and the *te* of *morte* was attached to it to make a word. This phenomenon is common in our and in all Mss.: comp. 3 'dulcissimus harum' for 'dulcis Musarum': still better 76 11 animum offirmas: animo offirmas V: I might give 20 instances of syllables wrongly doubled: see 68 91 where I propose 'Quae taetre' for 'Que uetet' of Mss.: 58 5 magnanimi Remi: magna amiremini O. Plaut. Trin. 540 Sues moriuntur angina acerrime: ? angina taeterrime: first 'teterrime' became 'terrime'; and then the *a* of *angina* attached itself to make a word¹.

I am really sorry to see Ellis retain 'tegam': this is his note: '*tegam*, I will muffle or veil in silence. That this is the meaning is shown by the comparison with the nightingale singing veiled from sight amid the leaves'. As if the nightingale ever muffled or veiled in silence its song, or as if '*tegam carmina*' had any meaning at all. Why, the shrill ringing out of the nightingale's notes, their filling the air with sound, is the prime notion the poets connect with its music: *Qualis populea maerens philomela sub umbra Amissos queritur fetus...at illa Flet noctem ramoque sedens miserabile carmen Integrat et maestis late loca questibus implet*: comp. this with 12 and 13 of our poem. Nay Homer, whom Catullus had in mind, refutes him too: ἀηδὼν Καλὸν αἰείδουσιν...Δενδρέων ἐν πετάλοισι καθεζομένη πυκινόισιν, Ἦτε θαμὰ τρωπῶσα χέει πολυηχέα φωνήν, Παῖδ' ὀλοφυρομένη Ἴτυλον φίλον: 'muffle or veil in silence'!: comp. too Sen. Agam. 670; Herc. Oet. 199.

¹ Comp. my 'Illac quaque' for 'Illa atque' in 64 16.

66 15—18

Estne nouis nuptis odio Venus? an quod auentum
 frustrantur falsis gaudia lacrimulis,
 ubertim thalami quas intra limina fundunt?
 non, ita me diui, uera gemunt, iuerint.

15 an quod auentum *scripsi*. atque parentum V. anne parentum *vulgo*.
 anne pauentes *Baehrens*.

There is much that is harsh and obscure in this poem, the translation of an original which no doubt was itself somewhat involved. I intend however to touch only on a very few points. 15: That *parentum* has no place here is to me a self-evident fact, which Baehrens has rightly acknowledged; tho' I think his correction by no means a happy one. Manifestly the 'husbands' must take the place of the 'parents'; and my correction is I think really nearer V than is the vulgate 'anne parentum': I have over and over again called attention to the astonishing frequency with which *o* and *e* are interchanged in our Mss.: the confusion between *d* and *p*, which occasionally occurs, probably goes back to some original written in uncials or in capitals: 16 1 and 14 *Pedicabo*. *Dedicabo* V. 21 9 *id si. ipsi* V. 64 104 *succepit. succendit* V: this correction by Statius is adopted by all recent editors except Ellis alone. 10 7 *quomodo se. quomō posse* O.

This *an quod* (*an quia*) is an elliptical expression for *an eo fit quod*, much resembling the *quod* for *quod... hoc fit quod*, which I have explained and illustrated at 10 28. It recurs below in v. 31 *Quis te mutauit tantus deus? an quod amantes Non longe a caro corpore abesse uolunt?*: the phrase is a favourite one with

Terence : hec. 662 Censen te posse reperire ullam mulierem Quae careat culpa? an quia non delincunt uiri? 784 Quid mihi istaec narras? an quia non tute dudum audisti? Phorm. 602; eun. 907: in heaut. 505 we have the full form: an eo fit, quia re in nostra aut gaudio Sumus praepediti nimio aut aegritudine? 18 is one of those very harsh collocations of words, of which I have given other examples from Catullus, as below, vss. 40 and 41.

77 Quicum ego, dum uirgo quondam fuit, omnibus
expers
unguentis, una milia multa bibi.

I have never felt much doubt that the sole corruption in these two verses lies in the word *expers*, for which we want a word with the exactly opposite meaning, 'abounding' 'steeped in'. Of the numerous corrections which have been made, the best seems to be Doering's, who often takes a straightforward common-sense view of a corrupt passage: omnibus explens Se unguentis: perhaps 'explens Vnguentis se' would be slightly nearer the Mss.: 'una' I think should certainly not be tampered with.

93 Sidera corruerint, utinam coma regia fiam!
proximus Hydrochoi fulgeret Oarion.

93 corruerint *Lachmann.* cur iterent V.

Ellis rightly states the essential meaning of these verses; but I don't think he explains correctly the construction, in which there is nothing irregular: 'Tho' the stars shall all have to tumble down for it, I pray I may become again a royal lock. Orion, if he liked, might then shine next to Aquarius': all the stars between

them having fallen down, to let the lock make its escape among them. *fulgeret* is an instance of that use of the imperf. and pluperf. subj. which Madvig (de fin. II 35) illustrates from Cicero and others, and of which I have collected numerous examples from Virgil and Ovid: *Obruerent Rutuli telis! animam ipse dedissem! Atque haec pompa domum me, non Pallanta, referret! : corruerent* cannot well be right. *fulgēret*: v. 61 *fulgēremus*: Lucr. varies the conjugation in the same way: Virgil in the inf. has only *fulgēre, effulgēre, feruēre*.

67

O dulci iucunda uiro, iucunda parenti,
 salue, teque bona Iuppiter auctet ope,
 ianua, quam Balbo dicunt seruisse benigne
 olim, cum sedes ipse senex tenuit,
 5 quamque ferunt rursus uoto seruisse maligne,
 postquam es porrecto facta marita sene:
 dic agedum nobis, quare mutata feraris
 in dominum ueterem deseruisse fidem.
 ‘non (ita Caecilio placeam cui tradita nunc sum)
 10 culpa mea est, quamquam dicitur esse mea,
 nec peccatum a me quisquam pote dicere quicquam;
 uerum astu populi ianua quippe facit.
 qui, quacumque aliquid reperitur non bene factum,
 ad me omnes clamant: ianua, culpa tua est’.
 15 non istuc satis est uno te dicere uerbo,
 sed facere ut quiuis sentiat et uideat.
 ‘qui possum? nemo quaerit nec scire laborat’.
 nos uolumus: nobis dicere ne dubita.
 ‘primum igitur, uirgo quod fertur tradita nobis,
 20 falsum est. non illam uir prior attigerit,

languidior tenera cui pendens sicala beta
 numquam se mediam sustulit ad tunicam :
 sed pater illius gnati uiolasse cubile
 dicitur et miseram conscelerasse domum,
 25 siue quod impia mens caeco flagrabat amore,
 seu quod iners sterili semine natus erat,
 ut quaerendum unde *unde* foret neruosius illud,
 quod posset zonam soluere uirgineam'.
 egregium narras mira pietate parentem,
 30 qui ipse sui gnati minxerit in gremium.
 'atqui non solum hoc dicit se cognitum habere
 Brixia chinea suppositum specula,
 flauus quam molli percurrit flumine Mella,
 Brixia Veronae mater amata meae,
 35 sed de Postumio et Corneli narrat amore,
 cum quibus illa malum fecit adulterium.
 dixerit hic aliquis : qui tu isthaec, ianua, nosti,
 cui numquam domini limine abesse licet,
 nec populum auscultare, sed hic suffixa tigillo
 40 tantum operire soles aut aperire domum ?
 saepe illam audiui furtiua uoce loquentem
 solam cum ancillis haec sua flagitia,
 nomine dicentem quos diximus, ut pote quae mi
 speraret nec linguam esse nec auriculam.
 45 praeterea addebat quendam, quem dicere nolo
 nomine, ne tollat rubra supercilia.
 longus homo est, magnas quoi lites intulit olim
 falsum mendaci uentre puerperium'.

5 maligne O. maligno G. 6 es *Itali.* est V. 12 astu *scripsi.* istius V.
 quippe *scripsi.* qui te V. 27 Vt *Girard, Ellis.* quaerendum unde unde *Statius.*
 quaerendus unde V. *is* unde *Lachmann.* 31 hoc dicit se O, *Baehrens.* se dicit
 G. hoc se dicit *uulgo.* 32 *is corrupt.* 37—40 *Schwabe, Baehrens give to Catullus.*

This oddly humorous poem has greatly perplexed
 the commentators. Muretus says: stultum est, quae

ita scripsit Catullus ut ne tum quidem nisi a paucis quibus hae res cognitae essent uoluerit intelligi, ea se quemquam hodie credere coniectura assecuturum; while Turnebus adv. XVI 1 calls it 'aeque ac folium Sibyllae obscurum et tenebricosum' and refers it to Clodia and her husband Caecilius Metellus! Schwabe I p. 346 quotes the words I have cited and admits their truth: he does not expect to clear away the difficulties of the poem: nos non id agimus ut tenebras omnes nostris explicationibus dispellamus, sed ut non nullos saltem errores quos interpretes superiores non euitarunt effugere conemur: and certainly his theory strikes me as involved and improbable. Ellis begins by saying 'that the obscurities which surround this poem are so considerable that it seems hopeless to do more than sketch in outline the story which it contains, leaving the subordinate points undecided'; and his comments throughout shew his utter embarrassment.

I may be under a strange hallucination; but for years the poem has seemed to me quite simple and intelligible. Two lines, 12 and 32, the former of which I have attempted to correct, the latter I have left untouched, are so corrupt that the text must remain uncertain; but they do not obscure in the least the general meaning of the poem. I will first briefly state its subject; next I will give a paraphrase of the whole, which will mask the coarsenesses without detriment to the sense; I will then add such critical and exegetical comments as may seem advisable. I may say that I have now before me a letter, in which two years ago I gave to Professor Sellar the same explanation as that which I now offer.

This is a dialogue carried on in Verona between the poet and the door of a house in that city. This house

had been in good repute, while it was owned by a worthy widower, Caecilius Balbus the elder, now dead. It was now in the possession of his son and heir, Caecilius Balbus the younger. He was a worthy man like his father; but the house had forfeited its good name; for this Caecilius had married after his father's death. The wife had lived in Brixia with a former husband; but when she entered Caecilius' house in Verona, she was believed to be a maid. It was not so: the former husband it is true had not consummated the marriage; but that husband's father had debauched his own daughter-in-law, either through foul lust or from a wish to get an heir for his son. Brixia saw and can tell of this; yes, and of many other deeds of shame. The door learnt all this by often overhearing her recounting to her maids these enormities.

1—8: (Catullus) O door, may heaven shower all its blessings upon you, door, well-pleasing to the husband and master of the house, well-pleasing too to his father before him: you are reported to have served old Balbus well and faithfully erewhile, when he was master in the house; but then on the other hand it is told of you that you have carried out but scurvily his wish and prayer, when the old man was in his coffin and you had come to be a bridal door. Tell us why you are so changed, it is said, as to have renounced your old loyalty to your lord.—9—14 (Door loq.) As I hope to please Caecilius to whom I now belong, the fault is not mine, tho' it is said to be mine; and no man can pretend that I have done any wrong; and yet through the people's underhand malice the door forsooth is brought in guilty. For when aught is found anyhow to turn out wrong, they all call out at me 'Door, the fault is yours'.—15 and 16 (C.) It won't do merely to say that; you must

make the world feel it and see it too.—17 (D.) How can I? nobody asks or cares to know.—18 (C.) Yes, I do: don't hesitate to tell me.—19—28 (D.) Well then, to begin with this, the story is false, that she was handed over to us a maid. Her first husband, it is true, is not likely to have touched her, for he was incapable; but the father of that husband is said to have violated the bed of his son and to have plunged into guilt the unblest house, either because his sinful mind burned with unlawful passion, or because he wished to beget an heir for his son.—29 and 30 (C.) An exemplary father this, of whom you tell, to cuckold his own son!—31—48 (D.) Yes, and, Brixia tells us, this is not the only sin of that woman's which she has espied from her o'erlooking height, Brixia whom the yellow Mella traverses with his gentle stream, Brixia loved mother of Verona mine. She has to speak of Postumius as well, and of the intrigue with Cornelius, with both of whom the woman committed foul adultery. Should any one ask, 'Door, how do you know all this, who never may be away from your master's threshold, nor overhear the people; but, fastened here to the post, have for sole duty to open up or close the house?' my answer is that I have often heard her talking in stealthy tones, alone to her maids, of these scandals of hers, and mentioning by name those whom I have mentioned, hoping the while that I had neither tongue nor ear. To these lovers she used to join one more, whom I do not choose to name, lest he up with his red eyebrows. He is the long fellow who got erewhile into such a costly law-business by that trumped up case of lying in with its mendacious birth.

I do not know how this statement of the case may strike others: to me it is quite simple and intelligible.

I must now append some comments and explanations. 1 *iucunda* to me of course is not 'ironical'. 5 *maligne*: another great and undoubted service which O has conferred on Catullus. As I have already so often observed and shall hereafter have cause to observe, no letters are so perpetually confused in our Mss. as *o* and *e*: 77 1 *amice* O, rightly, *amico* G; 76 11 *instincteque* O, *instinctoque* G: *istinc teque* I believe is to be read. *uoto* I think is right, tho' Froelich's *nato* may be simpler, and *a* and *o*, *u* and *n* are often confused. I take *uoto* to express the old man's dying wish. Baehrens' conjecture *natae* proves he does not apprehend the poem as I do. 6 *marita*: Schwabe well illustrates this from Livy xxvii 31 5 *per maritas domos*: comp. too Mart. x 19 12 *Sed ne tempore non tuo disertam Pulses ebria ianuam uideto*.

12 Every one I presume will have his own conjecture for this verse. Certainly the older corrections, including Lachmann's, are far too venturesome: *istius* and *qui te* the metre declares to be corrupt; all the other words in the line appear to me quite genuine. Tho' I offer my own corrections with diffidence, I do not think they are wide of the Ms. reading: with *astu* comp. Plaut. Pers. 148 *praecipe astu filiae Quid fabuletur*: if *quippe* be written with one *p* it will readily pass into *qui te*: comp. 14 15 *oppinio* O for *optimo*, 62 54 *apsi* T for *at si*, 64 *tuignare* T for *pugnare*. Compare with its use here some words from the striking passage in Cic. pro Mil. 33 *mouet me quippe lumen curiae*, said in bitter irony of Sex. Clodius. Baehrens' *est uox* and *cuncta* are rather wide of the Mss. Ellis' *est os* cannot mean *sermo est*: in the passage from Cicero which he cites in his 1st volume, *os* means 'impudence' 'face': a common sense, as Mart. ix 94 2 *os hominis*! In the

passage from Persius 'os populi meruisse' means 'meruisse in ore populi esse', 'to be in the mouths' 'on the tongues of men': quite another thing. As I hold it to be certain that Catullus was named Gaius, not Quintus, of course I think *Quinte* false: it is in vain to appeal to Scaliger, Lachmann and Haupt, as they were without the convincing evidence which we possess. But this question of name has been fully discussed elsewhere. *facit*: *facio* is used thousands of times in Latin without an object: in my Lucretius I have given many examples: comp. too Virgil's *Me me adsum qui feci*; Sen. controu. I 1 19 *non feci*; 7 14 *sciebam enim piratas non facturos*; Martial's witty epigram IX 15 *Inscripsit tumulis septem scelerata uirorum Se fecisse Chloe*; X 75 13 *fecit*; XII 63 8 *Ferrem, si faceret bonus poeta*.

27 this reading, which Ellis has adopted, seems to me too the best: *querendus* for *quaerendum* is an instance of that very common confusion in our Mss. between final *m* and *s* of which I have already spoken more than once. 32 the reading must remain uncertain here, as no one can tell whether *chinea* is corrupt; or, if it be corrupt, what word we are to substitute for it: *specula* must denote some height, with or without a watch-tower on it, which overlooked Brixia. But *supposita* cannot, as Ellis will have it, be followed by an abl. instead of a dative: the commonly accepted '*supposita speculae*' is not a very violent correction. Yet I feel that an abl. too is wanted, and that *chinea* is probably the corruption of some simple epithet. If so, cannot a dat. be then understood? '*supposita ei speculae*', '*Brixia uicina supposita ab [au] specula*' would not be so wide of the Ms. '*chinea suppositū specula*': Virgil has '*specula ab alta*' twice. On the next two verses, about the present or past course of the Mella, why

Brixia is called Verona's mother, I have nothing new to tell; but can only refer to Ellis, to Vulpius and the multitudinous older Italian authorities whom the latter appeals to. The scholars of Verona, of Padua and other Venetian cities looked on it as a piece of impertinence for a second-rate Lombard town like Brescia to claim to be mother of their own Verona.

34 the door may well say 'Veronae meae'; and yet perhaps Catullus was unconsciously thinking of himself. 35 and 36 Ovid, speaking there of Catullus, had the language and the meaning of these two verses in his thoughts, when he wrote trist. II 429 *Nec contentus ea, multos uulgavit amores In quibus ipsa suum fassus adulterium est*: in the second line he adopts the Catullan rhythm, and not his own: *Fassus adulteriumst in quibus ipse suum*.

37—40 are given to Catullus by Schwabe, followed by Baehrens; but I prefer the old arrangement which leaves them to the door. 44 *Speraret*: grammar and metre alike call for this reading, which G and O indirectly point to: 'speret' ought not to be defended. 46 comp. Petron. 91 *supercilium altius sustulit. rubra*: this refers to the colour of the hair, so common a reproach with the Romans: comp. 59 1 *Bononiensis rufa*, and my illustrations there, and Mart. XII 54 *Crine ruber, niger ore, brevis pede, lumine laesus*.

47 and 48: see Ellis, who means I presume that a vexatious action was brought against the man for the 'stuprum' of a free virgin or widow. Before the Julian law on the subject, proceedings at Rome against a man for 'stuprum' were so uncertain and variable, that I am loth to give any opinion. Certainly a Roman had such perfect liberty to own or disown a child, that none could be fathered on him against his will; and I do not

see for instance what all this parade of a fictitious lying in could effect, more than the simple oath of the woman or of others that she had been debauched or outraged. Upon the other theory which Ellis combats, we might imagine it to be a trick for evading the *lex Voconia*: either the man's father and mother, having no son, in order not to forgo the property of the mother's father had got up this fictitious lying in and asserted the supposititious child was their own; or else this man was the father who, with his wife, played the same trick in order to keep the property of the wife's father. In either case the 'gentilis' or nearest agnate would bring the action, and Cat. 68 120—123 would be in point: *Vna caput seri nata nepotis alit, Qui cum diuitiis uix tandem inuentus auitis Nomen testatas intulit in tabulas, Impia derisi gentilis gaudia tollens.* *olim* perhaps tells for the first of these two hypotheses. *uenter* has the meaning which it has in Horace, quoted by Ellis.

68 a

Quod mihi fortuna casuque oppressus acerbo
 conscriptum hoc lacrimis mittis epistolium,
 naufragum ut eiectum spumantibus aequoris undis
 subleuem et a mortis limine restituum,
 5 quem neque sancta Venus molli requiescere somno
 desertum in lecto caelibe perpetitur,
 nec ueterum dulci scriptorum carmine Musae
 oblectant, cum mens anxia peruigilat:
 id gratum est mihi, me quoniam tibi dicis amicum
 10 muneraque et Musarum hinc petis et Veneris.
 sed tibi ne mea sint ignota incommoda, Manli,
 neu me odisse putes hospitis officium,

accipe, quis merse fortunae fluctibus ipse,
 ne amplius a misero dona beata petas.
 15 tempore quo primum uestis mihi tradita pura est,
 iucundum cum aetas florida uer ageret,
 multa satis lusi: non est dea nescia nostri,
 quae dulcem curis miscet amaritiem.
 sed totum hoc studium luctu fraterna mihi mors
 20 abstulit. o misero frater adempte mihi,
 tu mea tu moriens fregisti commoda, frater,
 tecum una tota est nostra sepulta domus,
 omnia tecum una perierunt gaudia nostra,
 quae tuus in uita dulcis alebat amor.
 25 cuius ego interitu tota de mente fugau
 haec studia atque omnes delicias animi.
 quare, quod scribis 'Veronae turpe, Catulle,
 esse, quod hic, quisquis de meliore notast,
 frigida deserto tepefecit membra cubili':
 30 id, Manli, non est turpe, magis miserum est.
 ignosces igitur si, quae mihi luctus ademit,
 haec tibi non tribuo munera, cum nequeo.
 nam, quod scriptorum non magna est copia apud me,
 hoc fit, quod Romae uiuimus: illa domus,
 35 illa mihi sedes, illic mea carpitur aetas:
 huc una ex multis capsula me sequitur.
 quod cum ita sit, nolim statuas nos mente maligna
 id facere aut animo non satis ingenuo,
 quod tibi non utriusque petenti copia praestost:
 40 ultro ego deferrem, copia si qua foret.

11 Manli. mali V. 27 Catulle V, *rightly*. Catullo *all editors*. 28 nota
 est *Perreius*. nota V. 29 tepefecit *scripsi*. tepefacit V. tepefaxit *uel* tepefactet
uulgo. 30 Manli. mali V. 39 praesto est *Froelich*. posta est V. facta *uel* parta
uel porcta *uel* aperta *alii*.

I have not hesitated to print the whole of this poem
 as well as the next and longer one, because I believe

that I have something to say about them worth saying in addition to so much that has been already well said by others, and that these two poems are of some moment for determining the question who Lesbia was. Two years back from the time I am now writing I interchanged a series of letters with Professor Sellar of Edinburgh about this and some other of Catullus' poems. Both his letters and my own are now before me: in mine I argued with some fulness—and this argument I intend to repeat and develop here—that Manlius had written to Catullus, not from Rome as the commentators generally assume, but in all probability from Baiae. This I state at once, because Ellis in his comment on v. 27 of our poem, after dilating upon the common theory observes: 'Prof. Jowett has suggested to me an entirely different interpretation. He supposes Allius to remonstrate with Catullus on remaining at Verona, when he might imitate the example of the fashionable world by *taking a course of hot baths*, i.e. at Baiae or some other well-known watering place'. And in an excursus appended to the next poem he remarks: 'It is not however necessary to suppose Baiae alluded to. There were hot sulphur springs near Verona, etc.' It is gratifying to me that Professor Jowett and I, thus independently of one another, should have hit upon Baiae, tho' in other respects we completely diverge from one another, my theory having nothing to do with the hot baths, which Ellis emphasises by Italics.

Nearly every commentator of Catullus is now agreed that this 68th poem forms two entirely distinct poems, addressed respectively to two quite different persons, 1—40 to a Manlius, 41—160 to an Allius: external and internal evidence alike demand this separation. The fact of the Mss. joining them together tells abso-

lutely nothing against this, as a large portion of the poems are similarly thrown together without any separation in our Mss. In my judgment Schwabe (Quaest. p. 340—344) has proved so convincingly that this Manlius is L. Manlius Torquatus, the bridegroom of the epithalamium, the friend of Cicero and the epicurean champion in the *De Finibus*, who was slain in Africa in 46 B.C. at the close of the civil war there, that I can add nothing to his demonstration nor hope to convince any one who may question it. In 61 16 V has *mallio*; 215 G has *Manlio*, O *Maulio*; 68 11 and 30 V has *mali* for *Manli*: such corruptions are intelligible enough, as Mss. perpetually confound *Manlius*, *Mallius*, *Malius*: if it be argued that external evidence is for *Mallius* or *Malius*, I should demur to this; but if it be so, then *Mallius* or *Malius* must be only another form of *Manlius*.

But says Ellis 'I assume here what it seems outrageous to deny, that the Mallius of the first part is the Allius and Mallius of the second'. I doubt whether he is not the one scholar in the world who would deny that it is—well, bold to assert that any one in Catullus' days could have borne two gentile names. Allius and Mallius are both common *nomina* and an Allius Mallius or Mallius Allius is not less odd than an Allius Tullius Cicero, or a Mallius Iulius Caesar. Or are we to resort to the hypothesis that some Allius had adopted Mallius, or some Mallius had adopted Allius, and that in the same poem Catullus calls the man by his new and his old name? just as if somebody in one page had chosen to speak of the younger Africanus sometimes as Cornelius, sometimes as Aemilius, or to name his brother at one time Aemilius, at another Fabius. But my amazement is increased when I find Ellis writing thus in the Academy (March 24, 1877): 'The Cujacianus is

now before me: if I doubt the genuineness of the tradition *Q. Valerii Catulli*, I must also doubt that of the *Sexti Aurelii Propertii Nautae*, which it equally contains'; as if every scholar but himself did not scout the 'Aurelii Propertii' or 'Propertii Aurelii', and the 'Nautae' to boot, as absurd figments; as if the poet had any other known names besides Sextus Propertius; as if Mommsen and Haupt had not proved the 'Aurelius Propertius' to have passed from a forged inscription into some interpolated Mss.; as if the testimony of the Cujacianus were worth the material on which it is written. This is ominous indeed for his 'Q. Valerius Catullus'.

With the exception of some of the shorter epigrams this is to me one of the least pleasing of all Catullus' poems: it strikes me as prosaic, ill-conceived and ill-put together. He seems to be unhinged by grief for the loss of his brother; under some constraint too perhaps; for he was surely living with his father, a man of importance in Verona, whose hospitality Caesar, when proconsul of the Gauls, did not disdain. I cannot help also fancying that he had hardly caught the full meaning of Manlius' epistle, which I believe to have been written in elegiac verse and to have been perhaps somewhat obscure. Our poem produces on my mind the impression of some degree of coarseness in the character of Manlius, tho' Cicero extols so highly his accomplishments. Manlius, suffering from the loss of his wife Aurunculeia, had written to Catullus that he found no pleasure in the old poets, probably the Greeks; that he wanted him to send love-poems of his own, as well as any such-like productions of others which he had with him. Cicero tells us of Manlius' great love of poetry. But evidently I think Manlius' main purpose in writing was to entice him away from

Verona to Baiae, or wherever he himself then was, by exciting his passion and jealousy with tales of Lesbia's infidelities. Else why should he lacerate his feelings by dwelling on so torturing a theme? The poet, being probably as I have said under some paternal constraint and also preoccupied by his grief for his brother, will not see this, will not quit Verona, and employs himself in parrying what were perhaps only feints on the part of Torquatus. At least I so read the poem: let us see.

5 foll. Schwabe has well shewn that 'sancta Venus' and 'in lecto caelibe' refer to the death of Vinia Aurunculeia, the heroine of the epithalamium: the very fact that there must have been a great intimacy between the poet and the Manlius Torquatus of that poem, and between the poet and the Manlius of this, while all other circumstances chime in so well, makes the identity of the two to my mind more than probable. 7 and 8, 19, 25 and 26 recall Ovid trist. v 12 1 *Scribis ut oblectem studio lacrimabile tempus, Ne pereant turpi pectora nostra situ. Difficile est quod, amice, mones. quia carmina laetum Sunt opus et pacem mentis habere uolunt.* 10 refers back to 7: 'you ask from me *here* (hinc) what you do not find in your own library, love-poems of my own and of others': 'musarum et Veneris' seems to me almost a hendyadis.

17 *Multa satis lusi*: 'I wrote light love-poems enough': the 'hoc studium' of 19, the 'haec studia' of 26. That this is the meaning, the whole poem proves to me: no doubt they were the result of his experience of love-intrigues. Compare too the many similar expressions, some probably allusions to Catullus: Mart. i 113 1 *Quaecumque lusi iuuenis et puer quondam, Apinasque nostras quas nec ipse iam noui cet.*: the last line 'Per quem perire non licet meis nugis' is also a reminiscence

of Catullus: IX 26 9 Ipse tuas etiam ueritus Nero dicitur aures, Lascium iuuenis cum tibi lusit opus: to Nerva of Nero's poetry which Martial admired: I have other passages of Martial at hand, as well as of Ovid: comp. for instance trist. v 1 7 Integer et laetus laeta et iuuenalia lusi; I 9 61 Scis uetus hoc iuueni lusum mihi carmen; Virgil Carmina qui lusi pastorum audax-que iuuenta: Catullus himself 50 2 and 5. 20—24, compared with 91—96, three in each set being word for word the same, prove that the two sets cannot have belonged to the same poem: nay, as the poems must have been written nearly about the same period, they can hardly have been addressed to the same man. 26 Haec studia: the writing of love-poems, spoken of above. ~~X~~

26—29: following the Mss. I preserve here the oratio recta: all editors from the very earliest to the very latest turn the sentence, I know not why, into the oratio obliqua by reading 'Catullo', and make it to me unintelligible. First as to the grammar: is it not odd that *esse* should do double duty: 'turpe esse Veronae esse? *turpe*, like *suaue*, *nec mirum*, *pote*, etc. the old writers often use without *est*; but could they write 'scribis turpe' for 'turpe esse'? In that case too the simplest correction of 28, *notast* for *nota*, is made impossible, as *sit* is called for¹. Then *hic* must mean at Verona, where Catullus was, just as in 10 *hinc*, in 36 *Huc* both refer to Verona; and this Baehrens takes it to mean here, tho' to me that is out of the question. With my reading *hic* of course refers to the place from which Manlius is writing: therefore when you write,

¹ Because Lucretius uses 'unum—primum—summum quicquid—qua quicquid' for 'quicque', Ellis should not jump to the conclusion that Catullus could use 'quisquis' for 'every body' in a totally different connexion.

‘it is a shame Catullus to be at Verona, because here where I am whoever is a man of fashion has been warming his limbs on the bed you have abandoned’ :—this, Manlius, is no shame, but rather a cruel sorrow. As I have already remarked, I believe that Manlius’ letter was in verse and that Catullus is quoting his actual words. But if this be disputed—for of course there is no positive evidence for it or against it—surely it will not be disputed that the poet could put his words into verse, and prosaic verse enough, and yet profess to be quoting him. Thus Mart. IX 70 1 *Dixerat ‘o mores! o tempora’ Tullius olim: but Tullius at the beginning of his Catilines really said ‘o tempora! o mores!’: II 41 1 ‘Ride, si sapis, o puella ride’ Paelignus, puto, dixerat poeta: but Martial did not mean that Ovid wrote in hendecasyllables: Phaedr. III Intr. 27 Sed iam quodcumque fuerit, ut dixit Sinon: but Sinon said ‘fuerit quodcumque’.*

Most take *hic* of 28 to be Rome where Manlius then was. This cannot surely be right: how then could the poet say what he says in 33—36: ‘I have no books to send you because I usually live at Rome: that place is my home and abode’? First of all he would hardly express himself as he does to one then in Rome: *Romae—illa—illa—*: by *ista* or some other turn of phrase, he would let that be known. Most certainly too he would not say ‘I cannot send you books from Verona, because all my books are at Rome’: he would have said ‘my books are at Rome, where you are; go to my library and choose what you want’: on every consideration a simpler affair than sending books from Verona to the very place where his friend was, and that place Rome, the library of the world. We see how Cicero uses his friends’ libraries as freely as if they were his

own, in town and country alike. But, as I have already argued, what Manlius really wanted was to get Catullus to come to him, where Lesbia too was.

By and bye I will return to this question; but, assuming for the moment, what I firmly believe to be the fact, that Lesbia is the notorious Clodia, I conjecture, as I said in my letters to Professor Sellar, that *hic* is Baiae. That it denotes some place which was neither Rome nor Verona, I have no doubt. I refer to numerous passages in Cicero's speech for Caelius, which shew that, when Clodia was away from Rome, Baiae was her favourite resort; there she pursued her pleasures, there she used 'alere adolescentes', 'entretenir' her favourites such as Caelius. I need only refer to the pro Caelio § 32 foll. such as 38 quae se omnibus peruulgaret, quae haberet palam decretum semper aliquem, cuius in hortos, domum, Baias iure suo libidines omnium commearent, quae etiam aleret adolescentes et parsimoniam patrum suis sumptibus sustentaret: since many references will be found in Schwabe, and Ellis has now quoted at length the main passages in an Excursus, p. 344. 28 'qu. de mel. notast' will then be these 'adolescentes', young men of fashion: (Curius) Cic. epist. VII 29 Sulpicii successori nos de meliore nota commenda; Petron. 83 ut facile appareret eum ex hac nota litteratorum esse quos odisse diuites solent; 116 urbanioris notae homines; 126 ex hac nota domina est mea; 132 seuerioris notae homines. 29: Ov. her. I 7 Non ego deserto iacuissem frigida lecto; Stat. sil. II 6 4 deserti praerepta coniuge partem Conclamare tori.

32 Haec munera: 'the love-poems', the 'Haec studia' of 26, the 'hoc studium' of 19, the 'Multa satis lusi'. 33 Nam: he now passes to the demand for

books of amatory poetry, in addition to poems of his own: of this I have said enough above. This elliptical force of *nam* in passing from one topic to another: 'but to leave that, and come to the matter of books': is very common in Latin. I have collected very many examples; but will refer to Draeger hist. synt. I p. 154 for Cicero. The usage is common in that storehouse of idiom, the supper of Trimalchio: 52 habeo capides M, quas reliquit patrono meo Mummius, ubi Daedalus Niobam in equum Troianum includit. nam Hermerotis pugnas et Petraitis in poculis habeo. quod—Hoc est quod R. uiuimus: this is the full form of that idiom which I illustrated above at 10 28 Istud quod cet.: if he had omitted 'Hoc est quod', he would have expressed exactly the same thing; but the fuller phrase is in harmony with this stiff and prosaic poem.

39 utriusque: this on the other hand is a very brief and obscure way of expressing 'utriusque rei quam petisti', both the poems and the books: this has induced Baehrens to accept Parthenius' *petiti* for *petenti*. praestost (p̄stost) seems to me better in sense and nearer to the Ms. reading than any of the many other conjectures offered; for *posta est* of Mss. has no sense. 40 I would grant both requests without any asking, if I had the means.

68 b

Non possum reticere, deae, qua me Allius in re
 iuuerit aut quantis iuuerit officiis,
 ne fugiens saeculis obliuiscantibus aetas
 illius hoc caeca nocte tegat studium;
 45 sed dicam uobis, uos porro dicite multis

milibus et facite haec carta loquatur anus
notescatque magis mortuus atque magis,
nec tenuem texens sublimis aranea telam
50 in deserto Alli nomine opus faciat.
nam, mihi quam dederit duplex Amathusia curam,
scitis et in quo me torruerit genere,
cum tantum arderem quantum Trinacria rupes
lymphaque in Oetaeis Malia Thermopylis,
55 maesta neque assiduo tabescere lumina fletu
cessarent tristique imbre madere genae,
qualis in aerii perlucens uertice montis
rius muscoso prosilit e lapide,
qui, cum de prona praeceps est ualle uolutus,
60 per medium densi transit iter populi,
dulce uiatori lasso in sudore leuamen,
cum grauis exustos aestus hiulcat agros.
hic, uelut in nigro iactatis turbine nautis
lenius aspirans aura secunda uenit,
65 iam prece Pollucis, iam Castoris implorata :
tale fuit nobis Allius auxilium.
is clausum lato patefecit limite campum
isque domum nobis isque dedit dominae,
ad quam communes exerceremus amores.
70 quo mea se molli candida diua pede
intulit et trito fulgentem in limine plantam
innixa arguta constituit solea,
coniugis ut quondam flagrans aduenit amore
Protesilaeam Laudamia domum
75 incepto a ! frustra, nondum cum sanguine sacro
hostia caelestis pacificasset eros.
nil mihi tam ualde placeat, Rhamnusia uirgo,
quod temere inuitis suscipiatur eris.
quam ieiuna pium desideret ara cruorem,

- 80 docta est amisso Laudamia uiro,
coniugis ante coacta noui dimittere collum
quam ueniens una atque altera rursus hiemps
noctibus in longis auidum saturasset amorem,
posset ut abrupto uiuere coniugio,
85 quod scibant Parcae non longo tempore abesse,
si miles muros isset ad Iliacos :
nam tum Helenae raptu primores Argiuorum
coeperat ad sese Troia ciere uiros,
Troia, nefas, commune sepulcrum Asiae Europaeque,
90 Troia uirum et uirtutum omnium acerba cinis,
quae taetre id nostro letum miserabile fratri
attulit—(ei misero frater adempte mihi,
ei misero frater iucundo e lumine adempte,
tecum una tota est nostra sepulta domus ;
95 omnia tecum una perierunt gaudia nostra,
quae tuus in uita dulcis alebat amor ;
te nunc tam longe non inter nota sepulcra
nec prope cognatos compositum cineres,
sed Troia obscena, Troia infelice sepultum
100 detinet extremo terra aliena solo):—
ad quam tum properans fertur *simul* undique pubes
Graeca penetralis deseruisse focos,
ne Paris abducta gauisus libera moecha
otia pacato degeret in thalamo.
105 quo tibi tum casu, pulcherrima Laudamia,
ereptum est uita dulcius atque anima
coniugium : tanto te absorbens uertice amoris
aestus in abruptum detulerat barathrum,
quale ferunt Grai Pheneum prope Cylleneum
110 siccare emulsa pingue palude solum,
quod quondam caesis montis fodisse medullis
audit falsiparens Amphitryoniades,
tempore quo certa Stymphalia monstra sagitta

- perculit imperio deterioris eri,
115 pluribus ut caeli tereretur ianua diuis,
Hebe nec longa uirginitate foret.
sed tuus altus amor barathro fuit altior illo,
qui tuum domitum ferre iugum docuit.
nam nec tam carum confecto aetate parenti
120 una caput seri nata nepotis alit,
qui, cum diuitiis uix tandem inuentus auitis
nomen testatas intulit in tabulas,
impia derisi gentilis gaudia tollens
suscitat a cano uolturium capiti;
125 nec tantum niueo gauisa est ulla columbo
compar, quae multo dicitur improbius
oscula mordenti semper decerpere rostro
quam quae praecipue multiuola est mulier.
sed tu horum magnos uicisti sola furores,
130 ut semel es flauo conciliata uiro.
aut nihil aut paulo cui tum concedere digna
lux mea se nostrum contulit in gremium,
quam circumcursans hinc illinc saepe Cupido
fulgebat crocina candidus in tunica.
135 quae, tamenetsi uno non est contenta Catullo,
rara uerecundae furta feremus erae,
ne nimium simus stultorum more molesti.
saepe etiam Iuno, maxima caelicolum,
coniugis in culpa flagrantem concoquit iram,
140 noscens omniuoli plurima furta Iouis.
at quia nec diuis homines componier aequum est,
ingratum tremuli tolle parentis onus.
nec tamen illa mihi dextra deducta paterna
fragrantem Assyrio uenit odore domum,
145 sed furtiua dedit muta munuscula nocte,

ipsius ex ipso dempta uiri gremio.
 quare illud satis est, si nobis is datur unis,
 quem lapide illa, dies, candidiore notat.
 hoc tibi, quo potui, confectum carmine munus
 150 pro multis, Alli, redditur officiis,
 ne uestrum scabra tangat rubigine nomen
 haec atque illa dies atque alia atque alia.
 huc addent diui quam plurima, quae Themis olim
 antiquis solita est munera ferre piis.
 155 sitis felices et tu simul et tua uita
 et domus, in qua *nos* lusimus et domina;
 et qui principio nobis te et eram dedit Afer,
 a quo sunt primo *mi* omnia nata bona;
 et longe ante omnes, mihi quae me carior ipso est,
 160 lux mea, qua uiua uiuere dulce mihi est.

43 Nei Baehrens. Nec V. 50 alli O. ali G. 52 torruerit *Turnebus*.
 corruerit V. 55 lumina *uulgo*. numula G. nūmula O. pupula *Baehrens* from
Ellis' conj. 56 Cessare ne tristiq; V. 60 densi *seems corrupt.* sensim *Haupt*
Schwabe Baehrens. 61 uiatorum O, *perhaps rightly*. lasso *uulgo*. basso V.
 uiatorum crasso *Baehrens*. 65 implorata *Itali*. implorate V. implorati (-ei)
 uel imploratu alii. 66 allius O, *in margin* manlius. manlius G. 68 dominae
Froelich. dominam V. 75 Incepto a *scripsi*. Incepto *Froelich Baehrens*.
 Incepta V. Inceptam *uulgo*. 85 abesse *Itali*. abisse V. 91 Quae taetre id
scripsi. Que uetet id V. Quaene etiam *Heinsius Haupt etc.* 102 Graia L.
Mueller. 118 tuum domitum *corrupt.* tamen indomitam *Heyse, perhaps rightly*.
 128 Quam quae *Vossius*. Quamquam V. 139 concoquit iram *Lachmann*. coti-
 diana O, quotidiana G. 140 furta *Itali*. facta V. 141 At quia *Itali*. Atq; V.
 Atqui alii: *post hunc desunt duo uersus*. 145 muta *Heysius*. mira V. 148 dies
 V. diem *uulgo*. 149 quo *Muretus*. quod V. 150 Alli *Scaliger*. aliis V. 156 nos
Itali. om. V. 157 te et eram *scripsi*. terram V. Afer *scripsi*. aufert V. Anser
Heysius. 158 mi *Haupt. om. V.*

The whole of this long poem I have printed, not that
 I intend to comment on every part of it, which would
 only defeat the purpose I have in view; but because I
 shall thus be able to set forth most simply and clearly
 what I have to contribute towards its criticism and
 illustration. It must, as we have shewn, be entirely

separated from the preceding poem: that was addressed to the well-known friend of Cicero, L. Manlius Torquatus; this to one Allius, a man of position as the poem itself declares, but known to posterity by it alone. Catullus has given him the immortality he promised, tho' but a shadowy and not altogether enviable one. That an Allius Mallius or Mallius Allius was an impossible monster in republican Rome, history and its best expositors all declare. The evidence of our Mss. forces on us the same conclusion: while in the last poem they offered a corrupt form, clearly pointing to the Manlius of the epithalamium; in this one O, our most trusty guide, gives us in two of the four places where his name occurs the precise form Allius, in the other two, corruptions which just as plainly indicate the true form, while G is misleading in one case only.

Very conflicting are the judgments which have been passed on the merits of our poem. While Muretus and some modern critics have extolled it as one of the grandest productions of the Latin Muse, the poet's accomplished translator Theodore Martin declares it to be far inferior to the letter to Manlius, to be 'hopelessly obscure in many of its allusions and clumsy in construction': 'its illustrations are far-fetched and the style generally inferior to the other serious efforts of Catullus. Its merits scarcely repay the labour of construing it'. My judgment refuses to accept either of these extreme views. The poem strikes me as awkwardly and inartificially put together; I see no excellence in the arrangements and transitions of the conflicting episodes; but a carelessness often amounting to downright clumsiness. I do not know whether it be owing to want of practice or want of power; but the beauty of the Peleus and Thetis is somewhat marred by a like disproportion in

its parts. At the same time I look upon this as vastly above the preceding poem. That was written at Verona, probably in his father's house, under the eyes of the whole household then mourning for the death of his brother. To Manlius' importunities about Lesbia a single line (30) serves for his curt, almost peevish answer.

Here we find all changed: a vein of coarseness indeed runs through this as through the last, but of a different kind. The 'amour-passion', what phlegmatic Verulam flouts at as 'the mad degree of love', is once more master of his soul. This mighty force is able to purify and sublimate his furious passion for a tainted adulteress, false even to her paramour. We almost excuse the outrage of his likening her to so pure and noble a heroine as Laodamia; we almost forgive his unmeasured praises of a man guilty of as base an action as a gentleman could well commit, who lent his house to conceal an adulterous intrigue between a woman of high rank and a vicious youth, and covered with dishonour one of the noblest and most virtuous patricians of the time. When and where this poem was composed, there is nothing to shew: I cannot think it was written in Verona, in tone and colour it differs so much from the last. I feel that it is somewhat later in time, tho' probably not much later, than that other; for the lines about his brother, common to both, have a more artificial collocation here than they have there,—at least that is the impression on my mind. Vss. 105 and 106 are no proof to me that the husband was living at the time, as they refer entirely to the past. I proceed now to comment on particulars.

41—50 sufficiently declare Allius to have been a man of rank. 43 Baehrens' correction of *Ne* (*Nei*) for

Nec of Mss., when once made, seems so certain that one wonders it was not thought of long before: in Mss. like ours the change is nothing: comp. 103 Ne G, Nec O; 6 14 Ne. Nec V; 99 9 Ne. Nec V; 114 4 Nequiquam. Nec quicquam O, Ne quicquam G. I cannot pass in silence the favours Allius has shewn me, lest this kindness of his should be forgotten; but I will tell them to you, Muses etc. With *Nec* 43 and 44 utterly destroy the connexion. Ellis' remark that *tegat* is a potential, 'nor can time conceal', doesn't help me at all. If the thing do not prove itself, I would appeal to the exact parallel in 149 foll.: Hoc tibi...Pro multis, Alli, redditur officiis, Ne uestrum scabra tangat rubigine nomen cet. 46: with this and 78 10 comp. Mart. xii 4 4 Fama fuisse loquax cartaque dicet anus: Martial is fond of this adjectival use of the word. 49 and 50 I take to refer to the *nomina* and *tituli* written under the waxen masks or *imagines* in the atrium: see Mayor on Juv. 8 1 and Marquardt v (1) p. 247, and the many passages they cite. The neglect of these *imagines* would indicate the decay of the family.

51—54: 'You know what pain the wily Amathusian gave me, and in what a fashion she burnt me up, when I felt as fierce a heat as the Trinacrian hill or the Malian wells in Thermopylae of Oeta'. 51 'duplex' must surely have the meaning it has in Horace's 'duplicis Vlixei': this might be illustrated not only from the Greek διπλοῦς and from Ovid cited by Ellis after Forc., but also by Plaut. truc. iv 3 6 edico prius, Ne duplicis habeatis linguas, ne ego bilinguis uos necem. Vossius' explanation, quoted by Ellis, is preposterous; for of course the poet is speaking and can be speaking only of Lesbia. 52, tho' Lucr. uses 'corruere' as an active, there can be no question that 'torruerit' is to

be read. Our Mss. are of small weight on such a point: 100 7 *torreret* O, *correret* G. in quo genere: *quo* is not the relative, as in the passages quoted by Ellis: it is here the indirect interrogative, and just as 'in omni genere' for instance is often synon. with 'omni ratione': Cic. ad Q. fr. II 2 4 *innumerabiles enim res sunt, in quibus te cotidie in omni genere desiderem*: so here 'in quo genere' equals 'quali ratione'. 53 *rupes*: 61 27 *Thespieae rupis*, for the large hill of Helicon. 55 the ductus litterarum of *lumina* are nearer than those of *pupula* to *numula*, espec. if we compare 64 32 *Aduenere*. *Adlenire* V; 183 *lentos* O, *uentos* G; 332 *Leuia* G, *Venia* O: and in 56 'Cessarent' is nearer the Mss. than 'Cessaret'. With the rhythm compare 99 12 *Non cessasti omnique excruciare modo*.

60 'densi' can hardly be right. I know nothing better than Haupt's 'sensim', so generally accepted, but it is not convincing to me. The poet appears to describe the stream as flowing across the path. But in 'the neighbourhood, if not' in 'the actual streets of a town' this could scarcely be the case. Again the stream must have had some volume of water, which seems against 'sensim'. In the next v. too O and G leave the question undecided between *viatori* and *viatorum*, tho' I don't like to give up *lasso* for *crasso*. 65 *implorată*: this, the old vulgate, appears to me better than the other conjectures: *e* and *a* are so often confused in our Mss.

67—69 'Allius it was who threw open a fenced field and made a broad way through it; who gave to me, who gave to my lady, a house in which we might indulge our loves together': 'lato limite' seems proverbial: Aen. IX 123 *lato te limite ducam*; X 513 *latumque...litem agit ferro*. 68 refers to and is referred to by, explains and is explained by 156 *Et domus in*

qua *nos* lusimus et domina: where *nos* is a far simpler supplement than any other: here as there, and 147 nobis unis, and 157 nobis, the plural is Catullus alone as opposed to Lesbia: he seems to have thought it more tender than the singular. He loves to oscillate between *nos* and *ego*, as in the impassioned 107 3 nobis quoque...mi cupido: in 8 5 Amata nobis, tho' in the rest of the poem it is *tu*, *te*, *tibi*, *Catulle*. How any critic, after it has once been offered to him, can refuse *dominae* for *dominam*, a change so simple with Mss. like ours, I do not understand: 128 they have *Quamquam* for the unquestionably right *Quam quae*, tho' that too Ellis will not see: *dominam* has absolutely no place here. Admitting it would seem in theory, he will not sufficiently recognise in practice the glaring fact that our Mss., where not interpolated, come one and all from a single obscure ill-written codex, in which the ends of words times without number were illegible or already corrupt. One might fancy he was dealing with Virgil or Horace.

These words reveal to us the inestimable service for which the poet sounds so loudly the praises of Allius. Allius, a man of rank, and his wife (155 et tu simul et tua uita)—for he must of course have had a wife, and a consenting wife, to make the service possible—had opened his house for Catullus and Lesbia to meet. It was no doubt a very great act of friendship, whatever else we may say of it; for the social, if not the legal, penalties attached to being found out must have been serious. It proves too beyond dispute that Lesbia was a woman of position; for of course in such a case it was the woman, not the man, who had to be considered. To a woman of the position to which some would reduce Lesbia Rome must have offered many accessible

resorts. On the other hand women of rank, so long as their character was of any account to them, had to be exceedingly circumspect in their conduct; but it must have been open to them to visit a lady of respectability and of rank equal, or not much inferior, to their own. To appreciate the service rendered by Allius, comp. Tac. ann. XI 4 uocantur post haec patres, pergitque Suillius addere reos equites Romanos illustres quibus Petra cognomentum. ac causa necis ex eo quod domum suam Mnesteris et Poppaeae congressibus praebuissent. In Athens too the consequences might be serious: Ἀσπασία δίκην ἔφευγεν ἀσεβείας Ἑρμίππου τοῦ κωμωδοποιοῦ διώκοντος καὶ προσκατηγοροῦντος, ὥς Περικλεῖ γυναικάς ἐλευθέρας εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ φοιτώσας ὑποδέχοιτο (Plutarch Per. 32). Dates and his own reiterated hints prove beyond any reasonable doubt that Ovid's disaster was connected with the detection of the younger Julia.

70—76 'Thither my lustrous goddess entered with soft step, and planted her bright foot on the well-trod threshold, as she pressed on her creaking sandal: just as of yore came Laodamia to the house of Protesilaus, burning with love for her spouse, love handselled alas! in vain, since the burnt-sacrifice had not yet atoned the lords of heaven with its offered blood'. 70 candida: transfigured, verklaert, with the sheen of divinity on her: the epithet of a god or a deified mortal: 133 Cupido Fulgebat crocina candidus in tunica; Virg. ecl. v 56 Candidus insuetum miratur limen Olympi Sub pedibusque uidet nubes et sidera Daphnis. 72 arguta: Statius and Ellis are surely right; the poet seems to have taken the creaking for a good omen: 'Their black and neat slipper or stertup with the creaking allureth young men' A. Willet cited by Todd in Johnson. The epithet thus greatly intensifies the ἐνέργεια of the

scene. Theocr. VII 25 ὥς τευ ποσὶ νισσομένοιο Πᾶσα
 λίθος πταίοισα ποτ' ἀρβυλίδεσσιν αἶδει. 75 Incepto a :
 this is as near the Ms. reading as *Inceptam*, and surely
 gives a better meaning, as what follows seems clearly
 to refer *frustra* to 'incepto amore' : ἡμιτελής in its true
 meaning cannot come into question ; tho' I do not deny
 the poet may have misunderstood the word. Catullus
 is fond of *a* ! and it is not otiose here : I propose in 76
 10 Quare cur te iam a ! amplius excruciem, as a simple
 and good correction. These six verses are sweet in
 their flow and rhythm, beautiful and impassioned in
 their diction ; as indeed is much else in the poem,
 which on the whole is more flexible and easy in its
 movement, and less harsh in its elisions than most of
 the poet's elegies : it makes us see that the Ovidian
 elegiac has lost much, while gaining more.

If we fancy ourselves in the poet's place, we can
 well imagine how this scene would stamp itself on his
 soul for ever, and give inspiration to his verse when
 the occasion came for describing it. While he was able
 to see her only perhaps at rare intervals and under all
 the restraints of social decorum in her husband's house,
 his love had risen to the pitch of delirium ; he had ad-
 dressed to her some of his most impassioned verse such
 as the second poem, and the translation from Sappho
 in which he exaggerates the frenzy of his original :
 Ille, si fas est, superare diuos. He had come to look
 on her as his lawful bride ; and he now saw her face to
 face with nothing between them and fruition. If she
 was Clodia, as I believe she was, he saw before him
 one of the most beautiful and accomplished women of
 the day, not yet branded with infamy. If, as is pro-
 bable, her husband was now consul, he saw before him
 the first lady in the world, to whom queens and kings'

daughters would hasten to yield place. No wonder the poet's imagination should transfigure her into a glorified divinity. //

79—130: There may be some subtle symmetry and refinement of proportion pervading this part of the poem, in which the poet commences the story of Laodamia, passes to the Trojan war, from it to his brother's death, then back to Troy, from it once more to Laodamia's love, which he compares with the abyss of Pheneus, drained by Hercules, and so on to Hercules and Hebe; and then compares the same love to a grandfather's for a grandson born unexpectedly, and next to that of a dove for its mate, and finds it greater than all these—there may be some Callimachean harmony running through all this; but my sense is too obtuse to perceive it. I will only touch on a few points of this part of the poem, which does not strike me as very successful.

84 *abrupto*: 'the idea seems to be that of a thread broken off' Ellis: most certainly not; *abrupto* is the older form of *abrepto*: thus Plautus has 'subruptum, subrupias, and subrupuisse': see Wagner Plaut. aul. 39; see too my note on Lucr. III 1031: the antiquarian Fronto has 'corruptus' and 'surrupuisse' and their best Mss. shew that both the Senecas, and even that hater of archaisms Martial, all use the same form. If any one be unreasonable enough to deny to Catullus this form, then he must read *abrepto*, not with Baehrens *absumpto*: comp. below 106 Ereptum est uita dulcius atque anima Coniugium; Ov. met. VII 731 desiderioque calebat Coniugis abrepti. 85 *abisse* V: I am convinced this word cannot stand here for 'fore ut abiret': the examples quoted from Draeger by Ellis of the rhetorical use of the perfect for the future in Cicero and Livy

are such as any language could parallel, and to my mind quite different from our passage. Nor can *abisse*, I think, in a sentence like this take the place of *perisse*, tho' I know that in certain combinations *abire* and *ire* have nearly the meaning of 'to perish'. Baehrens' *obisse* obviates this, but not the other difficulties. Nor does Mueller's *scirant* improve matters; for surely *sciscere* cannot be thus followed by an infinitive, notwithstanding the solitary passage which lexicons cite from Silius, to which I know no parallel. It seems to me that the old correction *abesse* is the simplest and best; for *Quod* most naturally refers to 'abreptum coniugium' 'the loss of her husband': 'which loss the Fates well knew was not far away, if once he went as a soldier to the Ilian walls'. The use of 'non longo tempore' to express duration of time is known to the best writers: Georg. III 565 nec longo deinde moranti Tempore; Ov. ars I 38 ut longo tempore duret amor; Mart. x 36 7 Non uenias quare tam longo tempore Romam, Haec puto causa tibi est; Juv. 9 16 quem tempore longo Torret quarta dies; 11 152 Suspirat longo non uisam tempore matrem: even Cicero has 'tempore infinito' in this sense: see my note on Lucr. v 161: and Mart. I 88 8 Hic tibi perpetuo tempore uiuet honor; I 36 5 Diceret infernas et qui prior isset ad umbras, Viue tuo, frater, tempore, uiue meo. I could say something for *apiscei*; a conjecture of my own; but will surrender to *abesse*. If *scirant* be adopted, I would suggest 'Quod —scirant Parcae—non longo tempore abesset'.

91 Quae taetre id: this I read for 'Que uetet id' of Mss. Heinsius' 'Quaene etiam', which many accept, never commended itself to me. If my reading be approved, comp. the very similar case of 65 12 'morte canam', a certain correction of the Ms. reading 'morte

tegam', in which one syll. is doubled, another lost, through similarity of form: see my illustrations there. I have already more than once—see my notes on 25 5 and 10 32—spoken of the frequency with which *r*, *t*, *tr*, etc. are interchanged in our Mss.; and this confusion would still more readily arise through contractions at the end of words: comp. 50 12 Versarer. Versaretur V; 12 7 Fratri. Frat̄ O. With the expression comp. 99 Troia obscena, Troia infelice sepultum: comp. too Cic. de diuin. 1 60 multaque facere impure atque taetre; ad Att. VII 12 2 nam istum quidem...omnia taeterrime facturum puto. 102 Graeca: 'immo *Graia*, ut infra 109, supra 66 58. neque enim Catullus magis quam plerique poetarum in mythis huius populi referendis Graecorum uocabulo usus est' L. Mueller; and perhaps he is right. 118: It is clear to me that in this corrupt verse Laodamia is made to bear the yoke, and that Ellis and Baehrens are wrong in referring it to the husband. Throughout the whole of this long and involved episode it is the consuming love of the heroine which is glorified: comp. espec. 119—130. It is indeed a strange incongruity of this intricate story, that the transcendent beauty of Laodamia is compared with Lesbia's beauty; but her overpowering passion for her husband illustrates the poet's love for Lesbia, not Lesbia's for him. To my mind the best of all correction is Heyse's: Qui tamen [t̄n] indomitam f. i. d.: *tamen* is more than once corrupted in Catullus: 'but your deep love was deeper than that abysm, the love which taught you, tho' indomitable, to bear the yoke'. This use and position of *tamen* is very idiomatic: Lucr. III 553 Sed tamen in paruo licuntur tempore tabe: and see my illustrations there which I could now add to: for instance Plaut. Stich. 99 quom tamen absentis uiros

Proinde habetis, quasi praesentes sint. 128 Quam quae: this must surely be read: Ellis devotes a long note to *inprobius*; but it is in the absurdly irrelevant *Quamquam* that the hitch lies: the diplomatic change is very slight: see my note on 68 dominae.

131—134: After this very long digression he now takes up again what he quitted at 70—72, and pictures her as advancing from the door, until the lovers are in each other's arms, in verses almost rivalling those earlier ones. 131 Aut nihil aut paulo: 22 4 we had *aut—aut* for *aut—aut etiam*: here they mean *aut—aut certe*, a usage quite as common as the other: Cic. diu. in Caec. 41 aut nemo aut pauci plures causas defenderint; i Verr. 31 aut nulli aut perpauci dies ad agendum futuri sunt. But tho' the expression is not 'curious', it does strike me as curious that he should admit the possibility of his divinity being a little inferior to any heroine whatever.

135 foll.: But now a vein of coarseness comes to trouble our enjoyment. 136 and 137: Catullus is in a state of exaltation, in glaring contrast with the depression and constraint of the last poem: comp. with these lines the plaintive 'Id, Manli, non est turpe, magis miserum est' of the other poem. 136: A sort of parallelism runs through much of this unequal and strangely constructed poem: here 'Rara uerecundae furta erae' answers word for word to 'omniuoli plurima furta Iouis': we will bear with the few transgressions of our decorous mistress, since Juno, tho' she knows the many and many transgressions of Jove who lusts after all alike, yet digests the rage excited by his infidelity. 137: The feeling of this line is well illustrated by his contemporary Lucretius: iv 1188 Nequiquam, quoniam tu animo tamen omnia possis Protrahere in lucem atque omnis

inquirere risus, Et, si bello animos et non odiosa, uicissim Praetermittere et humanis concedere rebus: comp. too Ov. am. II 2 7 cur non liceat quaerenti reddita causa est, Quod nimium dominae cura molesta tua est. Si sapis, o custos, odium (mihi crede) mereri Desine. 139 concoquit iram: This conjecture of Lachmann exactly hits the meaning and probably gives the actual words of the poet. 140 *furta*, even more than in 23 10, is a certain correction of *facta*. Baehrens' *concipit* and *per-fida facta* in my opinion ruin the point of the antithesis.

141: That two verses are lost here, and not more than two, is clear to my mind: *nec* might possibly, tho' not probably, be for *non*; but there must have been a *Catulle* in what is lost, to make *tolle* intelligible. But to assume with Ellis a lacuna of 18 vss. would be an insufferable drag on the poem which has at length done with its tiresome episodes, and can have nothing now to say to 'pius Aeneas' or to his wife and father. Here we are concerned with Aeneas' brother, not with Aeneas himself; with his mother, not with his wife or father. As *quia* would be written compendiously, *At quia* seems the best correction of *Atq*:: in the next verse *tolle* must have the usual sense of this imperative: 'away with' 'have done with': a sense so common as to need no illustration. 'But, as mortals should not be compared with gods, [and as Juno's wrongs too are far greater than mine, do not indulge, Catullus, in bootless complaints, and] have done with the thankless task of an over-anxious father': *tremulus* is a very favourite word with Catullus: here it seems to have much the sense it has in 61 51 Te suis tremulus parens Inuocat: 'tremulous with anxiety'. Give her the liberty she wishes.

143: Yes, and besides all this, remember too that I have not the claims of a lawful spouse: 'she came not

to my house, led thither by her father's hand'. Ellis quite misapprehends the meaning of 'Nec tamen', and Baehrens reads *tandem*, which ruins the sense. I have illustrated this use of *tamen* at length in my note on Lucr. v 1177 (and I 1050); and I could here add many more instances, as Cic. epist. x 1 3 et, praeterquam quod rei publicae consulere debemus, tamen tuae dignitati ita fauemus cet.: where Wesenberg changes *tamen* to *etiam*, as other editors do or wish to do in more than one of the passages which I have quoted in my Lucretius. 145: 'But she gave me stealthy favours in the silent night, snatched from her own lord's very bosom'. *muta* seems to me unquestionably right: I have spoken again and again of the repeated confusion in our Mss. of *t* and *r*; and *mira* has to me no meaning: comp. 64 138 mirescere. mirescere O, mitescere G. 147 nobis unis; i.e. mihi uni: so above in 68 nobis: below in 156 and 157 nos, nobis: he must have felt some charm of pathos in this use of the plural, which he so strangely mixes up with the singular. See the 107th poem, in which he expresses ecstatic delight at an unexpected revival of Lesbia's love: Quare hoc est gratum nobis quoque—carius auro, Quod te restituis, Lesbia, mi cupido. Restituis cupido atque insperanti, ipsa refers te Nobis. o lucem candidiore nota! : a seeming reminiscence of our passage: 'Therefore I am content, if to me alone is given one happy day, which my lady marks with a whiter stone than usual'. 148: Tho' *diem* is a simple correction generally adopted, I choose to keep *dies*, because to my taste the involved sentence adds a piquancy, and is not alien to Catullus' style: 44 8 Non inmerenti quam mihi meus uenter, Dum sumptuosas appeto, dedit, cenas; 66 18 Non, ita me diui, uera gemunt, iuerint; 40 adiuro teque tuumque caput, Digna ferat quod siquis inaniter

adiurarit: Lucan i 13 much resembles our passage but is harsher: quantum terrae potuit pelagique parari Hoc, quem ciuiles hauserunt, sanguine, dextrae.

149—152 refer back to the first ten lines; as indeed this part of our poem generally has a parallelism with the first part. 155—160: 'A blessing on you all, you and her who is dear to you as life, your wife; and on your house in which my mistress and I have toyed; and on Afer who in the beginning gave to me you and my lady, him from whom all the happiness of my life was first derived; and first and chiefest on her, who is dearer to me than my own self, my light, who while she lives makes it sweet to me to live'. 155 tua uita: the countenance of the wife was all-important. nos: see my note on 68, to which this v. refers. 156 Either Ellis is or I am much out here. 157 *te et eram* is got readily from *terram*, and I think gives a fuller meaning than other corrections: *Afer* of course is uncertain, but it comes very easily from *aufert*, and is a known name; tho' I am quite ready to surrender it for *Anser*: 'qui principio nobis terram dedit, aufert' would occur very naturally to the pen of a monk, dreaming that it referred to our Maker. By introducing Catullus and also Lesbia to Allius, Afer may truly be said to have first given to Catullus both Allius and Lesbia: eram: so 'erae' in 136. The elision *te et eram* is a very easy one; as the strictest metrists, such as Ovid, freely elide *me, te, se* before short vowels: in Catullus himself comp. 8 16 *te adibit*; 12 4 *te inepte*; 14 3 *te odio*; 66 25 *at te ego certe*; 114 2 *in se habet*: all before short vowels. Whether the pronoun be emphatic or not, makes not the slightest difference: 6 16 *uolo te ac tuos amores*; 66 75 *quam me afore semper, Afore me a dominae*; Aen. xi 410 *Nunc ad te et tua, magne pater, consulta*

reuertor; Ter. Phor. 442 Gnatus qui me et se hisce impediuit nuptiis. 158 *mi* is necessary to metre and sense. 159 : surely Ellis quite misapprehends the construction here.

LESBIA

This seems a not unsuitable place to say a few words on the question who Lesbia was. I have already more than once in the preceding pages, in the article for instance which was written for the Journal of Philology ten years ago and is now reprinted, expressed my firm belief that she was no other than the notorious Clodia. This belief was held in the 16th century by such scholars as Victorius, Muretus and Achilles Statius; but, like much else, was suffered to lie in abeyance until it was again revived in the present generation, especially by the 'Quaestiones' of Schwabe, in which this question, as well as others appertaining to the life of Catullus, has been discussed with elaborate fulness. Since then it has been accepted by the majority of scholars, tho' impugned by more than one German critic who has flattered himself that he has disproved or at least invalidated it. My belief in it has remained quite unshaken, nay has acquired new strength; tho' I frankly admit the *prima facie* unlikelihood of a lady of Clodia's exalted rank having been the mistress of a young poet—an unlikelihood however which Clodia's life and character vastly lessen the force of. The question no doubt will still remain a disputable one: Mr Nettleship says for instance with reference to it, in the short but excellent notice which he

has given in the Academy of Ellis' commentary: 'We confess, in spite of the authority against us, to having our doubts on this point'. I shall be as concise as I can, both for the sake of clearness and because I rest of necessity mainly on the authorities so fully cited by Schwabe and on the inferences which he and others draw from these authorities; tho' I may be able to set one or two matters in a different point of view which may help to throw some fresh light upon them.

Lesbia, Ovid tells us, and we should all have surmised it for ourselves, was a feigned name. Where did Catullus get the name from? all will answer with Vossius, from his love and study of Sappho. But on this I would say one thing more. No one can doubt that his 51st poem, the translation of Sappho's famous ode, is among the earliest of his extant poems and was conceived and done in the rapture of first love, when he saw his divinity through the golden haze of yet unsatisfied passion. The only two poems referring to Lesbia which we can well suppose to be as early as, or earlier than, this one, the 2nd 'Passer deliciae', and the 3rd 'Lugete o Veneres', contain neither of them Lesbia's name. May we not then conceive that, even as his ecstasy had impelled him to heighten his original by the 'Ille, si fas est, superare diuos', so in continuing his version it may have struck his fancy how far better the burning words of passion which Sappho squanders so sadly on her Lesbian girl, her 'mistress minion', would fit themselves to his own bright goddess? He would then write down 'nam simul te, Lesbia, aspexi', and *she* would become once and for ever his 'Lesbian maid'.

The bond which connects Lesbia with Clodia appears to me not to be formed by a series of links, the

failure of one of which renders the whole chain useless, but rather to consist of several quite independent chains, some of greater, some of less strength, which severally attach the two together, and mutually strengthen and are strengthened by each other. Apuleius acquaints us with the important fact that Lesbia's actual name was Clodia. This may go but a little way to prove her to be the Clodia we want; and yet the mere name is something I think, and for the following reasons. The father Appius Claudius Pulcher and his two eldest sons spelt their name in the traditional manner: why the youngest son Publius and the three daughters were called or called themselves Clodius and Clodia, I do not know. But clearly after this the form Clodius and Clodia became more common among *liberti* and *libertae*; tho' of course there were Clodii before this; and Cicero in his speech for Cluentius speaks of a L. Clodius, an itinerant quack-salver of Ancona. I may observe that Lesbia cannot be either of the two sisters of the more famous Clodia, as one was dead and the other already divorced and prosecuted by her husband at a time when Lesbia was still living with her husband.

With the 79th poem however we make an important, to my mind a quite decisive, advance towards the identification of the Clodia in question:

Lesbius est pulcher: quid ni? quem Lesbia malit,
 quam te cum tota gente, Catulle, tua.
 sed tamen hic pulcher uendat cum gente Catullum,
 si tria notorum sauia reppererit.

4 notorum O. natorum G.

'Lesbius is a pretty fellow: no doubt, since Lesbia prefers him to you, Catullus, with all your kith and

kin. But this pretty fellow is welcome to sell Catullus with kith and kin, if he can manage to get three kisses of acquaintances'. *notorum* of O is clearly right: *notus* is often used as a substantive: Caes. B. C. I 74 *hi suos notos hospitesque quaerebant*.

There can be but one meaning to this: Lesbia was a Clodia, therefore Lesbius must be a Clodius. The poem points to foul charges of incest between Lesbius and Lesbia, resembling those which were current against Publius Clodius and his sister Clodia: the last line points to still fouler charges, the same as those which Cicero does not hesitate to bring against Clodius. Then the 'pulcher': surely this points to Clodius' cognomen Pulcher, and recalls Cicero's repeated jests on the same name: *surgit pulchellus puer—furor Pulchelli—Pulchellum nostrum—postquam speculum tibi allatum est, longe te a pulchris abesse sensisti*. When we compare the 2nd v. with 58 2 *Illa Lesbia, quam Catullus unam Plus quam se atque suos amavit omnes*: the two passages would seem to refer to one another, and to something which the poet had said to Lesbia in the heyday of their passion. It is possible, not I think probable, that the Clodius here alluded to is Sextus, whose character Cicero paints in much the same colours as that of Publius. Anyhow a Clodius it was.

I would now again call attention to the poem 68 b, on parts of which I have just discoursed at such length. If that poem does not prove Lesbia to have been a woman of position, I have no more to say on the whole question. Who then was she, if she were not Clodia, wife of Q. Metellus Celer? Dates, as I have already said, declare that she was not either of Clodia's two sisters. And this I need not follow out, as both the sisters were married to men of equal rank with Metel-

lus, to L. Lucullus and to Marcius Rex respectively, and no one will resort to either of these, who rejects the third. What other woman of rank was there in Rome, named Clodia? I look through the lists of the Appii Claudii and the Claudii Marcelli and find that, before P. Clodius and his sisters, they were one and all called Claudius, tho' once or twice a coin or inscription may casually present the vulgar form Clodius.

I now go on to another indication: in more than one poem Catullus inveighs fiercely against one Rufus, whom the poet had believed to be among his dearest friends, but who had in some way atrociously wronged him. Turn especially to the 77th poem: *Rufe mihi frustra ac nequiquam credite amice:—Frustra? immo magno cum pretio atque malo—Sicine subrepsti mi atque intestina perurens Ei! misero eripuisti omnia nostra bona? Eripuisti, eheu nostrae crudele uenenum Vitae, eheu nostrae pestis amicitiae.* Look at the whole of this; compare the words in Italics with 68 b 157 *Et qui principio nobis te et eram dedit Afer, A quo sunt primo mi omnia nata bona*: Rufus had taken from him, what Afer had first given, the greatest blessing of his life—surely nothing else but the love of Lesbia.

Now Cicero's speech in defence of M. Caelius Rufus, from which we learn so much about Clodia, true or false, lets us see that the orator and would-be politician, M. Caelius Rufus, a man a year or two younger than Catullus, a friend and correspondent of Cicero, his letters occupying the whole of the 8th book of the Epistles, was entangled in a long intrigue with Clodia, lodged in her house on the Palatine, and finally came to an internecine quarrel with her. These events took place from about the end of 59, soon after the death of Clo-

dia's husband, to 57 B.C.; and during this period of time the poet must have gone through the various phases of estrangement from Lesbia and of reconciliation with her, until the final rupture took place before his departure for Bithynia in the beginning of 57. Was not Rufus then M. Caelius Rufus?

I would finally appeal to my dissection of 68 a: Catullus informs us that he was writing from Verona. Manlius, we have proved, could not, as is usually maintained, have written from Rome. He was writing from some place where there were many people of fashion, 'de meliore nota'. Lesbia was there, and unfaithful to Catullus. May not this place have well been Baiae, the favourite haunt of Clodia and the scene of her profligacy, whenever she was away from Rome?

But many scholars I am aware feel the same as Mr Nettleship feels when he says: 'Can Clodia ever have sunk so low as the *trivvia* and *angiporti* of Rome? Does Cicero, in all his invective, ever hint as much as this?' Well, Cicero and her sometime lover Caelius Rufus both called her 'Quadrantaria'; and that smacks very much of the *trivvia* and *angiporti*: nay, Catullus himself never taunts Lesbia with being a mercenary prostitute, like the *Ameana puella*. We must not forget too the poet's passionate nature, and how he often convicts himself in his envenomed attacks on those who have offended him. Take for instance the 91st and 116th poems: if Gellius was, and was known to Catullus to be, so abandoned a profligate and villain, why did Catullus degrade himself by trying so hard to gain his friendship? If he was not such a man, then the poet's inhuman invective is no less ignominious for himself. But in truth Clodia would seem, like many other women of high rank in ancient Rome, as in the

Italy and France of the 15th and 16th and the Russia of the 18th century, when her husband's death had freed her from constraint, to have drained every pleasure to the dregs, and finding them one after the other to be but vanity and vexation of spirit, to have come to 'feed on garbage' in the very recklessness of satiety. Seneca in his *Hippolytus* (206) well depicts such a state of things:

Tunc illa magnae dira fortunae comes
 subit libido: non placent suetae dapes,
 non tecta sani moris aut uilis cibus.
 cur in penates rarius tenues subit
 haec delicatas eligens pestis domos?
 cur sancta paruis habitat in tectis Venus,
 mediumque sanos uulgus affectus tenet?

I have dwelt longer on this question than I had intended to do; but at the risk of being tedious I will bring into the comparison with Clodia two ladies, one of them her equal, the other even higher in rank; one of them belonging to the same, the other to the next generation. It is not an embittered poet, but the philosophical historian Sallust who (*Catil.* 25) thus paints the character of Sempronia, the mother of Decimus Brutus: haec mulier genere atque forma, praeterea uiro, liberis satis fortunata fuit; litteris Graecis et Latinis docta, psallere saltare elegantius quam necesse est probae, multa alia quae instrumenta luxuriae sunt. sed ei cariora semper omnia quam decus atque pudicitia fuit; pecuniae an famae minus parceret, haud facile discerneres; libido sic accensa, ut saepius peteret uiros quam peteretur...uerum ingenium eius haud absurdum: posse uersus facere, iocum mouere, sermone uti uel modesto uel molli uel procaci; prorsus multae fa-

cetiae multusque lepos inerat. Take away the 'liberis', and you have Clodia here painted to the life; even the fine dancing and the verse-making suit her.

The other lady is Julia, the only child of Augustus, 'dis genita et genitura deos', married three times successively, the first and second time to the two destined heirs, the third time to the actual heir of the empire, the mother of many children, marked out to be emperors or mothers of emperors, a lady who retained the love of the Roman people even to her cruel end. Macrobius (Saturn. II 5), following some old authority, describes her, as she was in her thirty-eighth year, speaks of her as a strange compound of vice and excellence, winning the affections of all by her 'mitis humanitas' and her varied accomplishments. But hear now what Seneca, a younger contemporary, says (de breuit. uitae 4 6): filia et tot nobiles iuuenes, adulterio uelut sacramento adacti, iam infracti [Augusti] aetatem territabant. The angry poet in his bitterest lampoon is not more merciless to Lesbia, than the angry old father shews himself towards his only child in the public edict which he made the Praetor read before the Senate, and which Seneca (de benef. VI 32) has preserved for us. When the deed was past recall, and, with his daughter's, he had laid his own honour in the dust, he deplored his headstrong folly, and often cried out: 'horum mihi nihil accidisset, si aut Agrippa aut Maecenas uixisset'. But read his own words: Admissos gregatim adulteros, pererratam nocturnis comissionibus ciuitatem, forum ipsum et rostra, ex quibus pater legem de adulteriis tulerat, filiae in stupra placuisse, *cotidianum ad Marsyam concursum*, cum ex adultera in *quaestuariam* uersa *ius omnis licentiae sub ignoto adultero peteret*. Does not the first part of this edict remind us of the 'salax taber-

na uosque contubernales', the 'boni beatique' and 'omnes pusilli et semitarii moechi' of our 37th poem? Both Augustus and Catullus are really speaking of young men of fashion about town. And do not the words printed in Italics paraphrase in language rather less coarse the 'Nunc in quadriuiis et angiporis Glubit magnanimi Remi nepotes' of our 58th poem?

71

Siqua iure bono sacer, o Rufe, obstitit hircus
aut siqua merito tarda podagra secat,
aemulus iste tuus, qui uestrum exercet amorem,
mirifice est a te nactus utrumque malum.
5 nam quotiens futuit, totiens ulciscitur ambos:
illam affligit odore, ipse perit podagra

1 Siqua V. Siquoi *uulgo*. iure *Palladius*. uiro V. sacer o Rufe *scripsi*. sacrorum G. sacratorum O. sacer alarum *uulgo*. 2 siqua *scripsi*. siquam V. siquem *uulgo*.

In order to apprehend the meaning of this unattractive poem, one should consult Haupt's Quaest. p. 91 foll. tho' I do not agree with all he says, and he himself indeed in his edition has withdrawn his *Ate*. I have tried hard, but have been quite unable to understand and realise Ellis' conception of the poem. I have a strong suspicion that it is addressed to Rufus, as the 69th is expressly and the 73rd no less certainly. Westphal somewhere draws attention to the fact that Catullus not unfrequently thus alternates poems on the same persons or on similar subjects with others of quite a different complexion: comp. for instance 3, 5 and 7; 16, 21 (only 17 intervenes) and 23; 41 and 43. My correction *sacer, o Rufe* of the *sacrorum* (*sacratorum*)

of Mss. is not so harsh as it might appear at first sight to be; and I avoid two or three further changes made by the editors. As I have already so often remarked, final *m* and *s* are again and again interchanged in our Mss. from having been written with very similar *compendia*: *ſ* and *f* are often nearly undistinguishable, and, as *e* and *o* are oftener confused than any other two letters in our Mss., *sacer o Rufe obstitit* might easily pass into *sacrorum*, quite as easily I think as *sacer alarum*. It may be said, Rufus need not be named here any more than in 73. But there is a great difference between the two cases: 73 tells its tale clearly enough; but 71 would be pointless and unintelligible without a name. Haupt, Mueller and Schwabe most properly I think accept *iure* for the Ms. *uiro*: *e* and *o*, as I have so often repeated, being perpetually confused, the *ductus litterarum* are almost the same. I do not at all like *Virro* of Parthenius, which both Ellis and Baehrens adopt; for *bono* has then no meaning to me; and I much doubt *Virrō* in Catullus: he writes *Nasō*, while Ovid always says *Nasō*. The 'sacer hircus' is of course the same thing as the 'trux caper' of 69 6. Haupt l.c. p. 92 quotes Isidore's illustrations of *sacer* in its bad sense: 'leno sacer' et 'sacer hircus', and with some reason concludes that Isidore is referring to our verse. This would go far to disprove *alarum*, as otherwise *alarum* too would naturally have been quoted to complete the phrase; just as he cites in illustration of *sacer* in a good sense 'inter flumina nota et fontes sacros', and 'Auri sacra fames' and 'sacrae Panduntur portae' for its bad sense¹.

¹ At the same time it cannot be denied that Isidore may refer to Georg. II 395 *stabit sacer hircus ad aram*: espec. if we compare 380 *Non aliam ob culpam Baccho caper omnibus aris Caeditur*: even if he is forcing Virgil's words.

In v. 1 I keep the *Siqua* of Mss. while all editors read *Siquoi*; and in 2 my *siqua merito* is a somewhat slighter change than the *siquem* of all editions. The omission of the object in these two lines seems to add point to the expression: 'If in any way, Rufus, the accursed he-goat has with full justice given offence, or if in any way the laming gout deservedly scourges, your rival has with marvellous adroitness caught from you both mischiefs: for he thus punishes both,—himself and her; her he stifles with the smell, he is martyred himself with the gout': the last two verses are rightly explained by Haupt l. c. p. 92. 1 o Rufe: Catullus generally omits *o*; but 87 5 o Gelli: for the meaning of *obstitit* comp. Aen. VI 64 quibus obstitit Ilium et ingens Gloria Dardaniae, and Plautus cited by Ellis, where too the object is omitted as here. Manifestly I think the vague generality which the absence of an object gives to the first two lines, improves their point, such as it is; because it is the woman who is offended in 1, the man who is scourged in 2; and yet the poet does not wish to reveal that till the last line: in 4 too *a te*, which most editors alter, seems to me quite necessary to the point of the epigram. If this poem be addressed to Rufus, i.e. M. Caelius Rufus, then the 'uestrum amorem' of 3 would seem to be Lesbia, and the 'Aemulus iste tuus' one of her many lovers. This and 69 would then have been written at a later time than 73 and 77, which express the first anguish of jealousy and of friendship betrayed. In the last line of 69 the *fugiunt* of Mss. should I believe be *fugiant*; for the best writers always employ the indic. after 'mirari, admirari si, quod' but the subjunct. after 'cur':

Anyhow Virgil would help to shew that 'sacer hircus' was a marked expression; and it is more emphatic without 'alarum'.

the 'downrightness and coarseness' which 'the indic. adds,' I do not apprehend.

73 3 and 4 I would thus complete :

Omnia sunt ingrata, nihil fecisse benigne
iam iuuat: immo etiam taedet obestque magis.

My *Iam iuuat* would be more likely to fall out before the similar letters that follow, than either *Prodest* of most editions or Baehrens' *Iuuerit* : I feel little doubt that the lost word or words belong to what precedes; not to what follows, as Haupt, and some others assume. My *Iam* seems to have force, when we consider the *Desine* of 1, and the *modo* of 6.

76

Siqua recordanti benefacta priora uoluptas
 est homini, cum se cogitat esse pium
 nec sanctam uiolasse fidem nec foedere in ullo
 diuum ad fallendos numine abusum homines :
 5 multa parata manent iam in longa aetate, Catulle,
 ex hoc ingrato gaudia amore tibi.
 nam quaecumque homines bene cuiquam aut dicere
 possunt
 aut facere, haec a te dictaque factaque sunt :
 omnia quae ingratae perierunt credita menti.
 10 quare cur te iam *a!* amplius excrucies ?
 quin tu animum offirmas atque istinc teque reducis
 et dis inuitis desinis esse miser ?
 'difficile est longum subito deponere amorem'.
 difficile est, uerum hoc qualubet efficias :

15 una salus haec est, hoc est tibi peruincendum,
 hoc facias, siue id non pote siue pote.
 o di, si uestrum est misereri, aut si quibus umquam
 extrema iam ipsa in morte tulistis opem,
 me miserum aspiciate et, si uitam puriter egi,
 20 eripite hanc pestem perniciemque mihi.
 heu ! mihi subrepens imos ut torpor in artus
 expulit ex omni pectore laetitias !
 non iam illud quaero, contra me ut diligat illa
 aut, quod non potis est, esse pudica uelit:
 25 ipse ualere opto et taetrum hunc deponere morbum.
 o di, reddite mi hoc pro pietate mea.

5 manent iam in longa *scripsi*. manētū inlonga O, manenti * in longa G.
 manent in longa *uulgo*. manent cum longa *Baehrens*. 10 cur te iam a amplius
scripsi. a om. V. iam te cur *uulgo*. cur te iam iam *Baehrens*. 11 Quin tu
 animum offirmas *Statius*. Qui tui animo offirmas V. Quidni animum *Baehrens*.
 istinc teque *Heinsius*. instincteque O, īstinctoque G. 18 ipsam morte V.
 21 Heu *Meleager*. Seu V. 23 me ut *Heyse*. me ut me V. ut me *uulgo*.

No other poem of Catullus brings more vividly before us the fierce earnestness of his impassioned nature, which made him one of the great lyric poets of the world. We heard him above, in 68 70—72, dwelling with rapt enthusiasm on the moment, which had stamped itself on his memory for ever, when Lesbia appeared on the threshold of Allius' house, and there was now no barrier of convention between him and her. We saw how, by his total absorption in self, he could regard himself, the paramour, as an innocent bridegroom, and her, the faithless wife, as a pure and virgin bride. Just so in our present poem he can picture himself to his own heart as the virtuous and outraged husband, and Lesbia as the well-beloved and traitorous wife of his bosom : 'Such tricks hath strong imagination'—when it belongs to a Catullus. To no

other of his poems may we more justly apply the words of an accomplished writer in the North British Review (vol. 36 p. 232): 'He is one of the very few writers in the world who, on one or two occasions, speaks directly from the heart. The greater number even of great poets speak only from the imagination;...but this one speaks as nature bids him the joys and sorrows of his own heart': a criticism at once original and most true. I heartily agree with all that Ellis writes in praise of this poem; but I do not feel that 'it *must* have been written late'; it *may* have been written late; but so fiercely vacillating were the moods of the poet's mind, that I am not at all sure it was composed much later than the two parts of 68. This and many similar cases I acknowledge myself totally unable to decide upon.

5: my reading here is I think nearer the Mss. than others which have been proposed: *iam* is by no means otiose. 10 my insertion of *a* is a very simple correction: Catullus is fond of this interjection; which is unelided, as here, in Hor. epod. 5 71 A, a solutus; Tib. (Lygdamus) III 4 82 A ego ne; (Sulpicia) IV 11 3 A ego non aliter. 11 animum offirmas: this I take to be a quite necessary correction of 'animo off.'; the absorption of *um* in the like letters which precede, and the doubling of *o* exactly resemble the examples given at 65 12 morte canam. The instances cited by Ellis of *offirmo* followed by an infin., occurring too only in Plautus and Terence, scarcely warrant 'animo offirmas' here: I suspect too that Ovid was thinking of Catullus when he wrote met. IX 745 Quin animum firmas teque ipsa recolligis, Iphi, Consilii que inopes et stultos excutis ignes: which might support 'Quin tu' as well as 'animum'. *istinc* teque: this I am convinced is the right reading here: for the position of *que* comp. my

note on 57 2 Mamurrae pathicoque: in our passage indeed *que* could not well have any other position: for *que*—*Et* comp. 102 3 Meque...*Et*, by no means a rare combination in Latin. 18 'ipsa in morte' and 'ipsa morte' are equally near the 'ipsam morte' of V: twice in Virgil we find 'Extrema iam in morte', and he was perhaps more likely to omit the prepos. than Catullus: tho' Virgil has also 'extrema hora'. 21 Heu, mihi s. (not Heu mihi, s.) seems the simplest correction of *Seu*: 68 12 Neu O, Seu G. 23 *me ut me* of V for *ut me* resembles 110 3 quod promisisti mihi quod V.

92

Lesbia mi dicit semper male nec tacet umquam
de me: Lesbia me dispeream nisi amat.

quo signo? quia sunt totidem mea: deprecor illam
assidue, uerum dispeream nisi amo.

If Gellius had not chanced to preserve the last two verses, we should have depended on O alone for them; one instance out of so many in which it shews its superiority over G. 3 sunt totidem mea: Ellis' suggestion that 'the expression is perhaps drawn from the language of games' is probable enough. However that may be, the quite parallel expression in Hor. sat. II 298 *Dixerit insanum qui me, totidem audiet atque Respicere ignoto discet pendentia tergo*, helps to shew that Catullus' words are not to be tampered with, tho' no one has given a precise explanation of either Catullus or Horace.

95

Zmyrna mei Cinnae, nonam post denique messem
 quam coepta est nonamque edita post hiemem,
 milia cum interea quingenta Hatrianus in uno
uersiculorum anno putidus euomuit,

5 Zmyrna cauas Satrachì penitus mittetur ad undas,
 Zmyrnam cana diu saecula peruoluent:
 at Volusi annales Paduam morientur ad ipsam
 et laxas scombris saepe dabunt tunicas.

parua mei mihi sint cordi monumenta *Phalaeci*:

10 at populus tumido gaudeat Antimacho.

3 Hatrianus in (*uel is*) *scripsi*. Hortensius V. 4 *hunc u. addidi: om. V.*
 9 Phalaeci *addidi: om. V. sodalis Auantiùs, uulgo.*

Haupt first, at the end of his *Quaestiones*, and next Schwabe in his most elaborate dissection of this difficult and corrupt poem (*Quaest.* p. 278—288) have dispelled much of the darkness which long rested on it. I flatter myself I can make some further contribution to its criticism and elucidation. I regret to add that either I am quite wrong in this assumption, or else Ellis in his commentary, instead of advancing, has made a step backward, especially in his defence of the absurd 'Hortensius'. This unlucky word has caused Lachmann, and after him Haupt, to separate vss. 9 and 10 from the rest, and make them into a distinct poem. Schwabe has clearly proved that they cannot form a complete whole, and that 'Hortensius' must be corrupt. I will state as briefly as I can what Haupt, Schwabe and others have already made clear, and will then go on to what I have to add of my own.

The Zmyrna or Myrrha is an epyllion, or short hexameter poem, of his friend Gaius Heluius Cinna,

mentioned above in our 10th poem, on the story of Myrrha, the daughter and paramour of Cinyras and the mother of Adonis. Catullus throughout presents this short but excellent epic in contrast with the voluminous but worthless 'Volusi annales'. These 'annales' were a long chronicle in hexameters written by Volusius, a pseudonym for one Tanusius Geminus, as has been demonstrated beyond dispute from a passage in Seneca. Already in his 36th poem Catullus has mercilessly jeered at these 'annales Volusi', whether with full justice or not, it is impossible for us to say.

To judge from their punctuation and comments, all previous editors would seem to make the sentence end with the lost 4th line. This cannot be so; for Catullus certainly would not use *edita* for *edita est*: the 5th verse takes up the 'Zmyrna' of the first: 'The Zmyrna of my Cinna, published ten summers and ten winters after it was begun, when all the time the putid Hatrian has been belching forth verses at the rate of 500,000 a year, the Zmyrna, I say, will be sent as far as the waters of the Satrachus; Zmyrna the hoar ages will long peruse: but the annals of Volusius will perish before they get across the Padua and will many a time furnish roomy coats for mackerel'. Catullus' first couplet, and this nine years' incubation over a poem of a few hundred lines became proverbial: not only Quintilian, but also Philargyrius and Seruius on Ecl. ix 35, and Porphyrius and Pseudo-Acron on the Ars poet. 388 speak of this nine years travail: Philargyrius l. l. refers to Catullus and to Quintilian, and adds that Horace's 'nonumque prematur in annum' is said to be an allusion to it. 3: Of the 'Hatrianus' I will speak presently: my supplement must give the general sense, some decided antithesis to the first couplet. The 'milia

quingenta' was proverbial perhaps for a large number; for Trimalchio in his laughable way talks of 'sublata in horreum ex area tritici milia modium quingenta' in a single day from his Cuman estate.

5 is well explained by Haupt who shews from several ancient authorities that Satrachus was the name of a town and river in Cyprus, and Zmyrna or Myrrha belonged to Cyprus. Cinna's Zmyrna will get as far as the distant home of the heroine herself, i. e. will have a world-wide fame; and (6) will live through long ages. I have little doubt that 'cauas Satrachi undas' is taken from Cinna's poem, because Catullus imitates him in 6 as well. For Cinna (Suet. de gramm. 11) says in like manner of Valerius Cato's Diana: Saecula permaneat nostri Dictynna Catonis. Catullus' 'saecula cana' for remote posterity seems a strange use of the phrase: Ellis remarks, what I had myself noted, that Martial uses it in its more natural sense of ages long gone by: x 19 16 he uses 'saecula posterique' to express what Catullus says here: yet Catullus' follower, the author of the Ciris, in v. 41 clearly imitates our verse: Nostra tuum senibus loqueretur pagina saeculis. They seem to have anticipated Bacon's philosophical remark: mundi enim senium et grandaeuitas pro antiquitate uere habenda sunt; quae temporibus nostris tribui debent, non iuniori aetati mundi, qualis apud antiquos fuit.

I now come to v. 7: Haupt l. l., followed by the later commentators, rightly observes that, as Satrachus is a river, the antithesis requires that Padua shall be also a river: what river it is he proves by quoting, after an older critic, Polyb. II 16 ὁ δὲ Πάδος σχίζεται εἰς δύο μέρη κατὰ τοὺς προσαγορευομένους Τριγαβόλους. τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν ἕτερον στόμα προσονομάζεται Παδόα, τὸ δὲ

ἕτερον Ὀλανα: my reason for repeating all this, will appear presently. Polybius says that the two streams into which the Po divides below Ferrara, are named the Παδόα and the Ὀλανα. If we compare with him Pliny III 119 foll., it will appear that Smith's Dict. of Geogr. is wrong in identifying the Παδόα with the Padusa, mentioned in the Aeneid. The Padusa, Pliny tells us, was the name given to the mouth of the 'Augusta fossa', an artificial cut, and that the older name of this mouth was Messanicus. Then enumerating the different mouths, beginning with the most southern, he comes to 'dein Volane, quod ante Eolane uocabatur': now whether 'Eolane' should or should not be 'Olane', we must connect this name with Polybius' Ὀλανα. Pliny, still advancing northward, says the largest and most northern branch was called at its mouth 'Septem Maria', no doubt from the seven mouths looking like so many seas: omnia ea [ostia] fossa Flauia, quam primi a Sagi fecere Tusci, egesto amnis impetu per transuersum in Atrianorum paludes quae Septem Maria appellantur, nobili portu oppidi Tuscorum Atriae a quo Atriaticum mare ante appellabatur quod nunc Hadriaticum. This 'fossa Flauia' carried the superfluous water from the other mouths northward into the 'Septem Maria'; and these were the mouths of the northern or chief branch of the Po, and were also called the 'Atrianorum paludes', from Atria, the only place of importance among these 'paludes', already in Catullus' time greatly decayed, tho' it had once been a famous emporium of the Etruscans, before the Gauls had broken their power in those parts; and by the testimony of Greek and Roman authors alike it had given name to the Ἀδρίας or Hadriatic.

It follows then that Polybius' Παδόα and Catullus'

Padua was the larger and northern branch of the Po; for as Catullus wrote just midway in time between Polybius and Pliny, what was common to the Po in their time, must have existed in his: it follows too that Volusius, or Tanusius Geminus, was born or resided near it; belonged therefore to Atria or its vicinity, the marshy district between the Padus and the Athesis. The poet therefore says his annals will perish before they have been able to get across the Padua. As now the symmetry of the poem requires Volusius to be named in 3, I have ventured to write there Hatrianus, 'the native of Hatria'; an admissible form I think, since it gave name to the 'Hadriaticum mare'; which always had the aspirate in Catullus' time; though Atria is the usual name of the town: see Mommsen *Inscr. L. v* p. 220. I may assume too that the *a* is short; for Propertius writes 'Hădriae mare', and 'Hădrianus' is the emperor's name, which he derived however from the Hadria or Atria of Picenum.

We now come to the last two vss.: 'Be it for me to find enjoyment in the short works of my own Phalaecus; for the people to delight in their bulky Antimachus'. In these two vss. the antithesis is still maintained between Cinna and Volusius. All commentators admit that the 'bulky', or it may be 'turgid, long-winded, redundant', 'Antimachus' is Volusius: for the reasons why he should be so called see Ellis. To me it is equally clear that, to produce the due antithesis, we need a name, and the name of a Greek poet, in the imperfect 9th verse. This has been seen by more than one critic, and 'Philetæ' and 'Phanoclis' have both been proposed: certainly the 'sodalis' of most editors and the 'Cinnae' of Baehrens are very pointless. I prefer my 'Phalaeci' to anything else: Cinna must, I should infer,

have been somewhat older than Catullus and Calvus; for he had just published his epyllion after nine years' elaboration. Now his very scanty fragments shew that, besides this epyllion and the 'Propempticon Pollionis' which must have been written many years later, he wrote Phalaecian hendecasyllables, scazons and elegiac epigrams. Catullus had not I believe at this time finished his own epyllion; and, if he had, he could not have taken Cinna's, which was only just published, for a model. He had however written just in those other metres in which we know that Cinna too wrote. If Cinna then were their senior, it is more than probable that Catullus and Calvus looked up to him as one of their teachers in poetry. We learn from the equally scanty fragments of Phalaecus that he not only wrote and gave name to the Phalaecian hendecasyllable, but also composed elegiac epigrams and verses which have much the halting effect of the scazon. There can hardly be any doubt then that Phalaecus was a prime model for all the three friends. What more natural now than that Catullus should fondly call Cinna his own Phalaecus?

Scholars have proved—for a good summary of the arguments see Teuffel's Rom. Lit.—that, in spite of the exact coincidence of name and Plutarch's odd *τις Κίννας ποιητικὸς ἀνὴρ*, the tribune C. Helvius Cinna who, as Val. Maximus, Suetonius, Appian, and Plutarch twice over, tell us, was murdered by mistake at Caesar's funeral, cannot have been our Cinna, who clearly lived beyond that time. Else the 'tear him for his bad verses, tear him for his bad verses' of the mob would have been a grimly humorous revenge for Catullus' sneer at their love for their favourite Tanusius, who must at least have been easier to understand than Cinna was.

96

Si quicquam muteis gratum acceptumque sepulcris
 accidere a nostro, Calve, dolore potest,
 quom desiderio ueteres renouamus amores
 atque olim amissas flemus amicitias,
 5 certe non tanto mors inmatura dolorist
 Quintiliae, quantum gaudet amore tuo.

3 Quom *Guarinus*. Quo G. Que V. 4 olim amissas *Statius*. olim missas V.

3 Quom: this I think a necessary correction: we see once more in O and G the perpetual confusion between *e* and *o*: comp. too my note on 30 5, where I read *Quom* for *Que* of V. 4 I see no occasion for any of the more violent corrections that have been made in this verse: the simple correction of *Statius* puts all straight: *mittere* often has the meaning of *omittere*, as in *Lucretius* again and again; and this is its sense in the passage which *Ellis* quotes from *Seneca*; but it never I believe has the force of *amittere*, which is what we want here. 5 and 6: See my note on 45 3 with respect to the somewhat involved construction. Surely we need not feel any doubt that *Quintilia* is *Calvus'* wife.

102

Si quicquam tacite commissum est fido ab amico
 cuius sit penitus nota fides animi,
 meque esse inuenies illorum, iure sacratum,
 Corneli, et factum me esse puta Harpocratem.

1 tacite *Ald.* 1515. tacito V.

'If aught has been confided in secrecy by a trusty friend whose sincerity of soul is thoroughly proved, you will find me to belong to that order, consecrated with full right, and you may rest assured that I have become the god of silence incarnate'. 1 *tacite*: once more the never-ceasing interchange of *e* and *o*; for I am convinced that this old correction is necessary, and I am surprised that it has been rejected by all the modern editors. With *tacito* the construction is intolerably harsh, as may be seen by looking at Ellis' forced interpretations; who is obliged to refer both *Cuius* and *illorum* to *tacito*. I do not hesitate to affirm that this acceptance of *e* for *o* both here and in so many other passages is virtually no departure from the Mss. at all: thus I have no doubt we should read *studiose* in 116 1.

3 *illorum* has now a plain and simple meaning: my trusty friend Cornelius will find me as trusty as himself, and one of his own order, regularly initiated in the guild: the plural has reference to the generic notion contained in 'fido amico', just as in 111 Auflena, uiro *contentam* uiuere solo *Nuptarumst* laus e laudibus eximiiis: see my note on 10 12 quibus. For *Meque—Et* comp. 76 11 *teque—Et* and my note there.

I will here refer back to a note of Ellis on 99 6 *uestrae*: 'not = *tuae*, but of you and others like you, your boyish cruelty...*uester* is never = *tuus* in Catullus'. If *uestrae* is not for *tuae* here; if '*uestrae saeuitiae*' is not the particular rage of Iuuentius alone at being kissed, without the least notion of any other boy in the world having any share in this rage, then it seems to me any *tuus* in the language might be made out to be really a *uester*. Again in 39 20 '*uester dens*' is surely the tooth of Egnatius alone of all people in the world. To v. 2 of this 99th poem, Plaut. *truc.* II 4 19 (Phr.)

Complectere. (Di.) Lubens. heia, hoc est melle dulci
dulcius: would be even a closer parallel than the one
cited by Ellis.

107 1—6

Si quid cui cupidoque optantique obtigit umquam
insperanti, hoc est gratum animo proprie.
quare hoc est gratum nobis quoque—carius auro,
quod te restituis, Lesbia, mi cupido.
restituisti cupido atque insperanti, ipsa refers te
nobis.

1 quid quoi *Baehrens.* quid quid O, quicquid G. cupidoque *Itali.* cupido V.

By a better punctuation I have preserved the Ms.
reading in 3, and, if I am not mistaken, have augment-
ed the emphasis: 'Wherefore this is welcome to me—
ay, dearer than gold': with the asyndeton I would
compare my correction of 110 7 est furis—plus quam
meretricis auaræ. The various alterations which critics
have made seem to me only to weaken the force of the
expression. nobis—mi cupido—cupido—insperanti—
nobis: comp. my notes on 68 68 and 147.

To go back to 104 2 Ambobus mihi quæ carior est
oculis: he loves dearly this comparison; but the 'Am-
bobus' adds to its pathos; as *Apul. apol. p. 402* Hoc
mihi uos eritis quod duo sunt oculi. 'When these two
things were desired, the Ambassador told us, It was to
ask his Master's two eyes, to ask both his eyes, asking
these things of him' O. Cromwell (*Carlyle* II p. 422).

110

Aufilena, bonæ semper laudantur amicae:
accipiunt pretium, quæ facere instituunt.

tu, promisisti mihi quod mentita, inimica es:
 quod nec das et fers saepe, facis facinus.
 5 aut facere ingenuae est, aut non promisse pudicae,
 Aufilena, fuit: sed data corripere
 fraudando est furis—plus quam meretricis auarae,
 quae sese toto corpore prostituit.

3 Tu, promisisti mihi quod *scripsi*. Tu quod promisisti mihi quod V. Tu quod promisti, mihi quod *uulgo*. 4 et fers B. *Guarinus*. nec fers V. 7 est furis *scripsi*. efficit V.

This is not a poem which one would care to study much except for purposes of criticism. But, on examining it for such purposes, I seemed to myself, rightly or wrongly, to see some points in it which had escaped the editors and commentators. The following appears to be the plain and indisputable sequence of the argument: 'Aufilena, honest and kind mistresses are ever praised; they receive the recompense of what they agree to do. You, in having made to me feigned engagements, are unfriendly and unfair: in not granting your favours and yet taking money for them again and again, you are guilty of a crime. On the one hand to fulfil engagements is the course pursued by a candid woman; on the other hand not to have made them at all would have been that of a modest woman: but to get hold of what is tendered by robbery and cheating is the conduct of a thief,—yes, worse than the behaviour of a grasping strumpet who yields to every form of degradation'. This seems to me the simple exposition of a simple thought; which every edition, so far as I can see, more or less obscures, some no doubt more than others. The last four lines are a comment on the first four: the first portion of these last lines being an elucidation of the first three verses; the last portion explaining v. 4. Nor

do I think that my corrections are more violent than those made by others: but of these I will speak separately.

2 fac. instit.: Cicero pro Cael. 49 si quae non nupta mulier...uirorum alienissimorum conuiuiis uti instituerit: so that *instituo* is here almost synon. with *statuo* or *constituo*. 3: my correction of this v. by the omission of the first *quod* is as simple as to read with all editors 'quod promisti'; for it is natural that a scribe should insert a *quod* in its more natural position before the verb; so 76 23 me ut. me ut me V: and my reading I think is necessary for the syntax of the sentence, as I cannot believe that Catullus would say 'quod mentita' for 'quod mentita es': the partic. *mentitus* is as often passive as active. Ellis I think is right in saying that *inimica* is the opposite of *bona amica*; but his text and his explanation of it I cannot comprehend: he will not even accept, what every other modern editor accepts, *et fers* for *nec fers*; and will not see that 4 is a rise upon, and the due climax to, 3. Thus he interprets: 'But you, in making me a promise, in disappointing me as only a false mistress can, in refusing either to give or take, are outraging me continually': *das* and *fers*, he says, are correlative 'give and take', as in Most. 'feram siquid datur'. This is to me all a riddle. If there is anything clear in this poem, it is that *das* has the sense which it so often has in Martial, of a woman granting her favours; and that *fers* must have the meaning of receiving money for granting or promising them; and *saepe* surely goes with what precedes, not with what follows; and even so, how could the words mean 'you are continually outraging me'? To me 'saepe' has force; and 'facis facinus' is more emphatic without an epithet such as *turpe*: comp. Caes.

B. G. VI 20 2 falsis rumoribus terreri et ad facinus impelli; Cic. pro Mil. 43 cruentis manibus scelus et facinus prae se ferens et confitens. The making a promise and not fulfilling it is an offensive act; but to take money and then not give what was bargained for is an enormity. 6 fuit: see Madvig gramm. 348 anm.

6—8 is an amplification of 4. 7 *est* cannot be omitted: some place it at the end of the verse; others where I have put it: the many many corrections which have been made of this verse I will not mention, as there seems to me a hitch in them all: Haupt and Mueller simply leave it as corrupt. My *est* (*ē*) *furis* for the Ms. *efficit* is simpler than it looks: twice already, 23 10 and 68 140, the Mss. have *facta* for *furta*, and on 6 12 I have given many examples, from G or O or both, of final *t* for *s*. Of course Catullus can call the woman a ‘fur’, the word having no feminine, just as Plautus, quoted in the lexicons, says to two women ‘fures estis ambae’. And surely the epigram requires at the close some such point as I have given to it: else what is the force of the last line? The poet now says: you are a thief—you are worse even than the strumpet who for gain submits to any degradation: *she* does not cheat you, she ‘et dat et fert’, gives the service for which she took your money. The asyndeton seems here emphatic: *est furis*—[*est, inquam,*] *plus quam cet.*: comp. 107 3 Quare hoc est gratum nobis quoque—carius auro. For the force of *plus* take two passages, cited by Hand: Cic. phil. 2 31 confiteor eos, nisi liberatores populi Romani conseruatoresque rei publicae sint, plus quam sicarios, plus quam homicidas, plus etiam quam parricidas esse; Livy x 28 4 primaque eorum proelia plus quam uirorum, postrema minus quam feminarum esse. Ellis surely wrestles here in vain: what resem-

blance either in the arrangement of words or in the force of the epithet between for example 'perfidia plus quam Punica' and 'plus quam meretricis auarae'? I could comprehend for instance 'meretrix plus quam quaestuaria'. And then the omission of *est*?

114

Firmano saltu non falso Mentula diues
fertur, qui tot res in se habet egregias,
aucupia omne genus, piscis, prata, arua ferasque.
nequiquam: fructus sumptibus exuperat.
5 quare concedo sit diues, dum omnia desint:
saltum laudemus, dum modo ipse egeat.

1 Firmano saltu *Auantius*. Firmanus saluis V. 3 Aucupia omne genus, *Stattius*. Aucupia G. An cupia O. Aucupium, omne genus *uulgo*. 6 modo *ablative*.

115

Mentula habet instar triginta iugera prati,
quadraginta arui: cetera sunt nemoris.
cur non diuitiis Croesum superare potis sit,
uno qui in saltu tot moda possideat,
5 prata, arua, ingentis siluas saltusque paludesque
usque ad Hyperboreos et mare ad Oceanum?
omnia magna haec sunt, tamen ipsest maximus, ut re
non homo, sed uero mentula magna minax.

1 instar *corrupt: perhaps* tonsi. 2 nemoris *scripsi*. maria V. 4 moda. bona *Auantius: perhaps* Tot qui in saltu uno commoda possideat. 7 maximus, ut *re scripsi*. maximus ultor V. ultro *uulgo*.

These two strange poems were perhaps left by the poet in an unfinished state. I have printed them both together, because the one throws much light on the other, the point of both being the same. If the

various editions and commentaries be examined, it will be seen how widely scholars differ in opinion about the text and the meaning. Much has hitherto been left unexplained: whether my comments will throw any new light upon them, let others decide.

Mentula, it is agreed on all hands, is Caesar's friend Mamurra of whom so much has been said above. This offensive name must have been fixed upon him by the 'ista uostra diffututa mentula' of 29 13, where the word is already half a proper name. This and the 'mentula magna minax' of 115 8 make it doubtful to me whether Catullus would in our present poems have joined the word to an epithet that declared itself to be masculine: *diues* has the requisite ambiguity. For this and other reasons I avoid in v. 1 *Firmanus*, and at the beginning of 115 I do not accept *noster*.

Firmum was a town of Picenum, far away from Formiae the 'urbs Mamurrarum'. We might fairly then infer I think that Mamurra got his 'Firmanus saltus' by the favour of Caesar. We find in the *Gromatici uet.* (lib. col. i p. 226 Lach.) this statement: *Ager Firmo Piceno limitibus triumviralibus in centuriis est per iugera ducena adsignatus.* If the triumvirs made this assignation, it is likely enough that Caesar may have intended to do something of the same kind; and he may well have bestowed by special grace on the favoured Mamurra an 'ager uiritanus'; for the meaning of which see Marquardt II p. 148. Varro, cited in the lexicons, tells us that 'saltus' was the technical name for an assignation of land of 800 iugera. Ellis only quotes the passage to say that this is not the sense which it bears here. I believe that it has some such meaning; else the two poems become even more obscure than they are at present, and the *saltusque* of

115 5 looks like nonsense. Mamurra's extravagant habits and the words of Catullus make it probable that this *saltus* was used for sport rather than for profit; and I can see no point in the hyperbole of the 2nd poem, unless we assume that Mamurra had got in addition to his *saltus* of 800 iugera or so a large tract of uncultivated hill- and forest-land, on which no 'uectigalia' could be raised and which would therefore be of little or no value to the state or to a private cultivator. Cicero's bitter taunt, ad Att. VII 7 6 Et Labieni diuitiae et Mamurrae placent: might suggest that this *saltus* too came from Caesar. I will now shew what my conception is of the whole: the one poem illustrates the other:

114: 'Mentula with truth is accounted rich in his Firman *saltus*, which contains so many choice things, winged game of every sort, fish of every kind, meadowland, ploughland and wild animals. All in vain: he exceeds his profits by his expenses. Therefore I am ready to grant he is rich, if only at the same time all things are wanting: I am willing we should praise his *saltus* (and its proportion), if at the same time he himself lack all due measure and proportion'. 115: 'Mentula has thirty iugera of meadow, forty of arable land: all the rest consists in forest. Why should he not exceed Croesus in riches, since in a single *saltus* he possesses so many commodities, meadow, ploughland, vast forests and lawns and pools reaching to the Hyperboreans and the Ocean? All these are great; yet he himself is greatest of all, being as he is in fact no man, but—'.

114 3 (and 115 5): here we have, besides *arua* and *prata*, the 'aucupium piscatus uenatio' mentioned by Cicero and Celsus, quoted by Ellis: the *ferae* would

be chiefly 'boars' and 'deer', Virgil's 'pinguis ferina'. But the *prata* and *arua* mentioned in both poems, more particularly in the 2nd, seem to shew he cannot be using *saltus* in the non-technical sense of the word: comp. Gallus Aelius ap. Fest. p. 302 *saltus est, ubi siluae et pastiones sunt, quorum causa casae quoque: siqua particula in eo saltu pastorum aut custodum causa aratur, ea res non peremit nomen saltus*. But here 'eae res' make up a most essential portion of the *saltus*. Comp. with both poems the Digest, quoted by Marquardt l. l.: *forma censuali cauetur ut agri sic in censum referantur: nomen fundi cuiusque: et in qua ciuitate et in quo pago sit:...et aruum, quod in decem annos proximos sectum erit, quot iugerum sit:...pratium, quod intra decem annos proximos sectum erit, quot iugerum: pascua, quot iugerum esse uideantur: item siluae caeduae...lacus quoque piscatorios cet.*: Hyginus too (Gromat. p. 205 Lach.) speaks of 'arui primi, arui secundi, prati, siluae glandiferae, siluae uulgaris pascuae'. The poet refers with a kind of pedantry to the things printed in Italics, as if he were speaking of some formal estate. In the 'siluae glandiferae' boars would be fed, in those 'uulgaris pascuae' deer and other animals.

114 3 'omne genus', indeclinable as so often in Lucretius, refers I think to both 'Aucupia' and 'piscis'. 5 and 6 must be compared with 7 and 8 of 115: *dum* has the limiting force so common in Latin: *oderint, dum metuant*: you may call him rich in name, if you allow that his extravagance leaves him without a penny. 6 *modō*, the adverb, would suit neither sense nor metre: I take the point of the verse to lie in the double sense of *modus*: the Gromatici, or agri mensores, often speak of the *modus* or measure of land which differed in

different places; and Varro de R. R. i 11 observes: in *modo* fundi non animaduerso lapsi sunt multi, quod alii uillam minus magnam fecerunt quam *modus* postulauit, alii maiorem, cum utrumque sit contra rem familiarem ac fructum. maiora enim tecta et aedificamus pluris et tuemur sumptu maiore, and so on. Well, Mamurra's *saltus* has a fine enough *modus*: it is he himself lacks a due *modus*, i.e. a *modus* in the metaph. sense of 'ratio', 'moderatio': Cic. pro Marc. 1 tantum in summa potestate rerum omnium *modum*, tam denique incredibilem sapientiam ac paene diuinam tacitus praeterire nullo *modo* possum; pro Cluent. 191 quibus finem aliquando non mulieris *modus*, sed amicorum auctoritas fecit; de fin. ii 27 ergo et auarus erit, sed finite, et adulter, uerum habebit *modum*; Hor. sat. ii 3 265 o ere, quae res Nec *modum* habet neque consilium ratione *modoque* Tractari non uult: Cicero and Horace almost play on the word, as Catullus does. This line then expresses much what 115 8 does: Mamurra has no *modus*, no standard of moderation; he is in fact not a human being, but, as his name implies, a big menacing 'mentula'. *modō* I think may be shortened without elision in Catullus like 'uale ualē inquit' and other like cases: in 10 27 'manē inquit' is not improbably right; but *modō* unelided must not be fathered on Catullus.

115 1 habet instar: is this metre possible in Catullus? again I do not comprehend the syntax of the sentence: in the passage of Velleius, quoted by Ellis, *instar* is followed by a genitive, and of course scores of like examples might be given: but 'instar iugera'? *iuxta* may be right; *tonsi*, as a *t* precedes and a *tri* follows, is not a violent diplomatic alteration: the 'pratum quod... sectum erit', i.e. the best meadow-land, cut by the scythe, suggested the word to me. 2 sunt nemoris: if

the *ne* were absorbed in *sunt* (comp. 68 56 *Cessare ne* for *Cessarent*), the *moris* might easily pass into *maria*: *maria* I believe to be quite untenable; nor can I grasp Ellis' elucidations. Pliny's 'septem maria' refer to the sea-like mouths of the Po; and Catullus is now speaking of an upland country. The 'cetera' must contain *silvae* and *saltus* and all kinds of game, birds and beasts, as well as *pascua*: now the 'sunt nemoris' will include all this: comp. the 'uariae uolucres nemora auia peruolitantes' the 'ad satiatem terra ferarum Nunc etiam scatit et trepido terrore repleta est Per nemora ac montes magnos siluasque profundas' of Lucretius; the famous 'Nemus Dianae' of Aricia; the 'Te nemus Angitia, uitrea te Fucinus unda, Te liquidi fleuere lacus'.

4 'totmoda' is generally declared to be barbarous: Auantius' 'tot bona' may be right; yet as *com* is often expressed by a short symbol, 'commoda' might easily become 'moda', and occasion 'tot' and 'uno' to change places: Tot qui in saltu uno commoda possideat, gives a good sense and a good verse. X 5: The poet may perhaps have meant 'saltusque' to have some point, as one only of the things contained 'uno in saltu'; the 'cetera sunt nemoris' comprising the 'ingentis siluas saltusque paludesque', which contain the birds, beasts and fish respectively. But the precise point of the huge hyperbole in the 6th verse I cannot say I catch. 7: I do not see the meaning of *ultro* which so many editions have at the end of this verse. Ellis says Varro joins *ultro* with *ipse*. But it by no means follows that, where *ipse* is in place, *ultro* should also be so. Again I think *maximus* should stand alone and not be joined with *homo*; for he is *maximus* just because he is not *homo*. When we reflect how very very often *o* and *e* are interchanged in our Mss., my *ut re* will not seem a violent

correction, and offers, if I am not mistaken, a most appropriate meaning. And indeed the *sed uero* of 8, for which Ellis most aptly cites Lucr. iv 986 *Non homines solum, sed uero animalia cuncta*, requires I think something like *re* to precede it. The first line of the next and last poem seems to furnish another example of this confusion of *o* and *e*: Saepe tibi studiose [B. Guarinus: studioso V] animo uenante requirens Carmina uti possem mittere Battiaedae: for by this change alone does the sentence gain proper symmetry. Martial in i 100 seems to imitate 115 6 and 8: Mammas atque tatas habet Afra, sed ipsa tatarum Dici et mammarum maxima mamma potest. This qualifying use of *ut*, 'seeing that he is', is common enough: Cic. epist. xv 3 2 mihi, ut in eiusmodi re tantoque bello, maximae curae est ut quae cet. With the last v. comp. Marius Plotius p. 462 1 Keil: non est homo sed ropio (?).

CATVLLVS AND HORACE

Ten years ago my much-honoured friend the late Professor Conington published a lecture on 'the style of Lucretius and Catullus as compared with that of the Augustan poets', since reprinted among his miscellaneous writings. This lecture, composed throughout in the kind and courteous language which his candid and generous temper imperiously dictated to him, is a criticism of certain remarks of mine which occupy less than a page in the second edition of my Lucretius. My remarks on Catullus and Horace are contained in about a dozen lines: his criticism of these lines extends over five or six pages. Obviously a dozen lines admitted of

no more than a most hurried and allusive reference to the points in dispute, my main topic being of course Lucretius. I thought then, and still think, that the critic of my criticism had sought to join issue on far too limited a subject-matter. I was waiting for a suitable opportunity to tell him so; when his lamented death within two years of the publication of his lecture stopped for a season even the desire to speak out; until the time for speaking at all seemed to have passed away for ever. The subject had thus dropped altogether out of my thoughts, when the present occasion induced me to take it up once more. To prevent the controversy running uselessly off into the *ἄπειρον*, I will endeavour as much as possible to confine myself to the points which he has raised; but in justice to myself and to Catullus I must be allowed here and there a greater freedom of range.

I will begin by quoting in full the few sentences of mine to which I refer, as they are not to be found in the last edition of my Lucretius: 'For Lucretius' sake I am not sorry to find Catullus put by his side and declared to be as much below Horace as Lucretius is below Virgil. Though Catullus' heroic poem was I believe one of his latest, I do not look on it or his elegiacs as the happiest specimens of his genius; but his lyrics to my taste are perfect gems, unequalled in Latin, unsurpassed in Greek poetry. Horace, when he wrote his epodes and earlier odes, was probably older than Catullus was when he died. Yet in the metres common to them both, in the iambic for instance and the glyconic, who will say that the former with all his labour and care has obtained the same mastery over them which Catullus displays, who would seem to have thrown them off at once without effort according as the

odi or the *amo* constrained him at the moment to write? His language is as undefiled a well of Latin as that of Plautus, and is withal the very quintessence of poetry'. Though I do not repudiate one single syllable of what I have said here, I should not have wished that these few allusive sentences should have been made the whole battle-ground in a comparison between the merits of Catullus and Horace. Not only has Conington done this, taking up as he had a right to do his own position and point of observation; but he has still further narrowed the ground by assuming that I wished to exclude virtually from the comparison things which I look upon as quite essential to its completeness: much of Catullus' highest poetry is contained in his hexameters and elegiacs; tho' from the nature of the case the full perfection of form and substance is seen only in what are generally termed his lyrics. Again when I mentioned 'the iambic *for instance* and the glyconic', I meant to pit Catullus' three glyconic poems, one of which is more than 200 lines in length, against all the glyconics and asclepiads of every kind whatever in Horace; and the scazons and pure iambics of the former against all the latter's epodes and some of his odes as well. Nay further, developing my 'for instance', I sought to compare Catullus' hendecasyllables, scazons, glyconics and sapphics with the whole of Horace's lyrical productions, and to maintain their immense superiority,—immense I mean of course according to my taste and judgment. But Conington has still further restricted the main controversy to an elaborate comparison between a stanza or so of Catullus' translation of Sappho and a couple of lines in a sapphic stanza of Horace. On this ground too I will essay to meet him; but I must first be allowed to take a somewhat wider and ampler view of the case.

Another fundamental point of difference between Conington and me is this: he reasons on the assumption that in every kind of poetry alike form and language attained their highest perfection in the Augustan age; that all which preceded that age was immature and imperfect, all that followed it overripened or rotten. I cannot express too strongly how widely I dissent from him in this. None can admire more ardently than I fancy that I do what is great in the Augustan age, the consummate perfection for example of Virgil's language and rhythm. Nay, I believe I go farther than Conington himself went, in thinking that Livy's style is on the whole perhaps the greatest prose style that has ever been written in any age or language. At the same time I do not hesitate to express my firm belief that Terence, who died at the age of 26 it would seem, nearly a century before Virgil was born, has attained to an excellence of style and rhythm in his verse which has never been surpassed in Latin or perhaps in any other language, and that it would be the very extreme of bigotry and injustice to maintain that Horace's iambics can abide a moment's comparison with those of Terence. Look on the other hand at what Martial did, notwithstanding the manifold disadvantages of his position. If we take the epigram in the Latin and modern sense of the term, do all the epigram-mongers of the whole world put together display a tithe of his exuberant wit and humour, his fancy, his perfection of form and style? It is only natural that Latin should observe in these respects the law which prevails in all cultivated languages. One might very well hold the opinion that the rhymed verse of Dryden or of Pope was superior to that of half a century or a century before them, without being bound to maintain that the dull

and colourless blank verse of Thomson or Young was superior or even equal to that of Shakespeare or Marlowe. Tho' I have said what I have said of Livy, I do not shut my eyes to the equal perfection of Caesar's prose, or of Cicero's many styles as exhibited in his orations, treatises, and above all in his letters to Atticus, the very counterpart in style of Catullus' more familiar manner. In times of transition, when a mighty movement is going on in any literature, and great poets are pushing on their art in different directions and forging the instruments suited for the various forms of that art, it will always happen that inventive minds will advance farther in some kinds than in other. Catullus then I say has reached perfection in his lyrics; from the force of circumstances he has fallen short of it in his hexameters and elegiacs, tho' in some of the latter, such as the 76th poem and portions of the second part of the 68th, he has sounded depths and reached heights of inspiration, which Propertius himself has failed to attain.

Horace I believe to have been a thoroughly modest man, and to have meant what he said, when he describes himself as laboriously gathering honey like the Matinian bee; declining that is to set himself up as a rival of the Greek masters, while he is piecing together his elaborate and more or less successful mosaics. To match the perennial charm of the Catullian lyric we must abandon the soil of Latium and betake ourselves to Alcaeus or Sappho, ay and join with him or her the Muse of Archilochus as well; or else jump over the ages and come at once to Burns and Goethe. With Catullus there is no putting together of pieces of mosaic: with him the completed thought follows at once upon the emotion, and the consummate form and expression rush to embody this thought for ever. In

observing that 'Horace, when he wrote his epodes and earlier odes, was probably older than Catullus was when he died', I did not wish to grudge Horace his longer and matured life: I meant to say that his colder genius ripened slowly, while inspired and impassioned natures, like Catullus, seem to leap at once to perfection in conception and expression alike. How much of all that is best in the lyrics of Goethe was thought and written before he was thirty, even if it did not appear in its final shape until a much later period of his life; and Shakespeare's lyrical genius can never have been greater than at the time when he conceived his Romeo and Juliet.

I could confirm my estimate of Catullus by the testimony both of ancient and modern times. That owing to temporary and social causes Horace had a certain jealousy of Catullus, there can be no doubt, tho' he is at the same time his frequent imitator. Virgil had studied him much, as is shewn alike in his very earliest poems and in his Aeneid; while Ovid, the most candid and unenvious of men, set no bounds to his admiration. That in the age which followed the Augustan Horace 'had the cry', we might perhaps infer from the constant imitation of his language which we meet with in the Senecan tragedies; perhaps too from what Quintilian says, tho' when he is speaking of Horace, he is not thinking of Catullus as a lyric poet at all. With Martial on the other hand, who belonged almost to the last age in which Roman literary judgment was of much value, Catullus was supreme. Martial, obeying the irreversible verdict of his countrymen, freely acknowledged Virgil as sovereign of Latin poetry; yet he seems to worship him at a distance, and his first and second loves, his Delia and his Nemesis, are Catullus

and Ovid: *Tantum magna suo gaudet Verona Catullo, Quantum parua suo Mantua Vergilio.* And yet there must have been much in Catullus' somewhat archaic rhythms and prosody to displease Martial with his modern tastes, so antipathetical to all that was obsolete. From more recent times one might select a myriad of witnesses for Catullus: I will content myself with a very few. Fénelon is not one whom we should expect to find among the chief admirers of our poet; and yet he can speak of him in the following terms, selecting in support of them a poem of two lines which a common observer might easily pass over: *Catulle, qu'on ne peut nommer sans avoir horreur de ses obscénités, est au comble de la perfection pour une simplicité passionnée:*

*Odi et amo. quare id faciam fortasse requiris :
nescio, sed fieri sentio et excrucior.*

Combien Ovide et Martial, avec leurs traits ingénieux et façonnés, sont ils au dessous de ces paroles négligées, où le cœur saisi parle seule dans une espèce de désespoir. Coleridge near the beginning of his *Biographia* tells us of the inestimable advantage which he owed to his old master who habituated him to compare Lucretius, Terence, and above all the chaster poems of Catullus, not only with the Roman poets of the silver and brazen ages, but with even those of the Augustan era, and on grounds of plain sense and universal logic to see and assert the superiority of the former in the truth and nativeness both of their thoughts and diction. There are few who have loved the great Greek and Roman writers more than Macaulay: it is thus he speaks of Catullus (*Life* II p. 448): 'I have pretty nearly learned all that I like best in Catullus. He grows on me with intimacy. One thing he has—I do

not know whether it belongs to him or to something in myself—but there are some chords of my mind which he touches as nobody else does. The first lines of *Miser Catulle*; the lines to Cornificius, written evidently from a sick bed; and part of the poem beginning ‘*Si qua recordanti*’ affect me more than I can explain; they always move me to tears’. And again (I p. 468): ‘Finished Catullus August 3, 1835. An admirable poet. No Latin writer is so Greek. The simplicity, the pathos, the perfect grace, which I find in the great Athenian models, are all in Catullus, and in him alone of the Romans’. It would have been better to put ‘Greek’ in the place of ‘Athenian’. I have cited above some words of an eloquent writer in the *North British Review*; here are a few more: ‘Of what he has written, almost everything that is valuable appeals to feelings that survive all changes of times and circumstances and are common to civilised men’; they ‘are as intelligible and moving now, as they were to the Romans who heard them first’: ‘some of these poems have been so often imitated that we are a little apt to forget in reading them, how much freshness and originality and force of thought they really display’: ‘no love poems yet written are more exquisite’ :—none so exquisite to my mind.

But I am running off into that *ἄπειρον* which I sought to eschew. Conington begins by criticising the epithalamium of Manlius Torquatus and Vinia Aurunculeia. ‘The fault of Catullus’ says Conington, ‘as I conceive it, like that of Lucretius, is a certain redundancy, now tending to luxurious ornamentation now to rustic simplicity; but in a poem like the epithalamium these qualities happen to be exactly in place. It is written throughout in a style of which the diminutives

which abound in it (a characteristic feature these of Catullus' diction) are a type and sample: there is a vein of *ὑποκορισμός*, as the Greeks called it, running through the piece, a petting, affectionate tone, which as little bears to be criticised by ordinary rules as the "Little Language" of Swift's letters to Stella'. It is only the halo thrown over this 'Little language' by the love of the man now in years for the blooming woman evoking the remembrance of the love of that man in his youth for the half-articulate prattle of that woman in her infancy, which saves this 'Language' from being denounced as pure idiocy. The epithalamium of Catullus contains some of the best and sweetest poetry which this world has produced, clothed in language of unfading charm¹. So at least I think: and yet Conington can find nothing better, to extenuate the 'fault' of Catullus who is as fresh and modern to us as he was to Calvus and Cinna, than the obsolete cranks and whimsies of the poetaster Herrick. I hold it to be one of the most grievous defects of the literary diction established in the Augustan age, that it almost banished from the language of poetry those diminutives which are a characteristic, not only of Catullus' diction, but of the letters to Atticus, and of the verse of Plautus and Terence: it made the lyric of the heart impossible. The same has happened in the English of literature; and the true lyric seems to have vanished from English

¹ Torquatus uolo paruulus Matris e gremio suae Porrigens teneras manus Dulce rideat ad patrem Semhiantē labello: this, and much else like it, then as little bears to be criticised as: And so Dood mollah, Little sollah, and that is for the rhyme: or, I assure oo it im vely rate now: but zis goes tomorrow, and I must have time to converse with own deerichar MD. Nite dee deer sollahs!: or, O Rold, dlunken srut, drink Pdfr's health ten times in a morning! You are a whetter. Faith, I sup MD's fifteen times evly molning in milk porridge. Lele's fol oo now, and lele's fol u Rattle, and evly kind of sing.

too since the seventeenth century. Some indeed would persuade us that the metallic resonance of that drinking-song, tho' 'Twas at the royal feast for Persia won', the 'Happy, happy, happy pair! None but the brave, None but the brave, None but the brave deserves the fair' has the genuine ring of the lyric, and is to be preferred to those divine stanzas which make immortal the three peasants who get drunk over their ale: 'O Willie brewed a peck o' maut'; or to that other lyric no less divine which sheds an undying lustre over that fuddled old barbarian the King of Thule. These two songs have much of the 'petting affectionate tone', which 'Philip's warlike son' disdains to bestow on 'lovely Thais' by his side.

Conington in his plea for Horace versus Catullus selects, as he has a right to do, for the matter of his main argument, one of the only two Sapphic odes which appear among the poems of Catullus: this poem he quotes in full and dissects. I will state by and bye why this appears to me to bear hard upon the older poet, and I will then enter into the minutiae of his criticism. Meanwhile, keeping strictly to those passages in which Horace is imitating or thinking of Catullus, I will, to put the controversy on what is I think a fairer ground, cite at length, well known as it is, the whole of that ode, two lines of which Conington brings forward to demonstrate their superiority over the words of the elder poet:

Integer uitae scelerisque purus
 non eget Mauris iaculis neque arcu
 nec uenenatis grauida sagittis,
 Fusce, pharetra,

siue per Syrtes iter aestuosas
siue facturus per inhospitalem
Caucasum uel quae loca fabulosus
lambit Hydaspes.

namque me silua lupo in Sabina,
dum meam canto Lalagen et ultra
terminum curis uagor expeditis,
fugit inermem:

quale portentum neque militaris
Daunias latis alit aesculetis,
nec Iubae tellus generat leonum
arida nutrix.

pone me pigris ubi nulla campis
arbor aestiua recreatur aura,
quod latus mundi nebulae malusque
Iuppiter urget;

pone sub curru nimium propinqui
solis in terra domibus negata,
dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo,
dulce loquentem.

This ode, from which Conington has selected his chief weapon of attack, is certainly not in my judgment one of Horace's best. I see no inward bond of connexion between the four first most prosaic stanzas one with the other, nor between them and the last two; and the wolf, more terrible than any lion or wild boar, savours more of nervousness than of inspiration. But I would direct attention at present on the last two stanzas. Whether Lalage was ever a girl of flesh and bone, with a heart beating within her ribs, or was merely a doll stuffed with sawdust, I do not pretend to decide. But what poet of high genius would ever imagine himself as actually wandering about amid Arctic ice and fogs,

or again beneath the suns of the burning zone, and continuing the while to love his sweetly laughing Lalage? Did he dream that 'sighing like furnace' would give him the heat too of a furnace, fired perchance by the inspiration of some 'woful ballad made to his mistress'—laugh? but then the torrid equatorial suns? Horace never really conceived the situation: he was simply trying to outdo what he remembered in his Catullus:

Acmen Septimius suos amores
tenens in gremio, 'mea' inquit 'Acme,
ni te perdit amo atque amare porro
omnes sum assidue paratus annos
quantum qui pote plurimum perire,
solus in Libya Indiaque tosta
caesio ueniam obuius leoni'.

Read the whole of this transcending 45th poem: it will be felt and known to have come in one gush from the mind of its creator. Note the perfect unity and harmony of the thought, the magnificent motion of the rhythm. But turn more especially to the lines just quoted: there you have truth and reality. Septimius, made immortal by his love, cannot conceive even of change in himself or in her; feels that his bliss will never end; and so to enhance, if he may, this bliss, he pictures to himself what of horrible he can, and offers, if his love should ever end, to go and encounter a lion on the torrid plains of India or Africa, knowing right well that this can never be.

But this is not the only part of the poem that Horace has been thinking of. There is a neat enough mosaic of his, very much better than the ode quoted above, the 'Donec gratus eram', in which the poet and Lydia outbid one another; tho' there too I miss all

lyrical passion and sweetness. Horace, when he was a favoured lover, was happier than the king of Persia; Lydia, ere Chloe was preferred to her, was more famous than Roman Ilia. But what is there in the dull cold splendour and isolation of a Persian king to attract a real lover? And the fame of Roman Ilia! what's Ilia to her or she to Ilia, that Lydia should think her fame worth pitting against true love? But hear now Catullus:

Nunc ab auspicio bono profecti
mutuis animis amant amantur.
unam Septimius misellus Acmen
mauult quam Syrias Britanniasque:
uno in Septimio fidelis Acme
facit delicias libidinesque.

Here again you have the ring of true passion. At the moment when the poem was written Caesar was invading Britain, and Crassus was off, 'partant pour la Syrie', to annihilate the Parthians. The youth of Rome were flocking West and East, some to share in the conquest and pillage of the new America; others to sack the gold and jewels of Asia. Septimius heeds it not: his is not the self-conscious and therefore unreal passion which can affect postures and grimaces and fine-drawn sentiments: 'I could not love thee, dear, so much, Loved I not honour more'. What is gain and glory to him, when Acme is on his bosom? Then the true poet can conceive of nothing higher for Acme, than to dote for ever on her own Septimius. Roman Ilia indeed! The whole of this exquisite poem well illustrates the fine observation of Hermogenes: ἡ δὲ γλυκύτης οἶον κάλλος τι τῆς ἀφελείας ἐστί. Sweetness is the never-absent charm which Catullus throws over the simple beauty of those poems, in which sweetness can have place.

Before I return to Catullus' translation of Sappho, I would just direct attention to the short ode (1 21) 'Dianam tenerae dicite uirgines' in which Horace imitates the 34th poem of Catullus 'Dianae sumus in fide': the whole of the two odes should of course be read together; but take one stanza as a sample of each; and first Catullus:

Montium domina ut fores
siluarumque uirentium
saltuumque reconditorum
amnumque sonantum.

And now take a stanza of Horace:

Vos laetam fluuiis et nemorum coma,
quaecumque aut gelido prominet Algido,
nigris aut Erymanthi
siluis aut uiridis Cragi.

If Catullus does not surpass Horace here alike in the simple vigour of the thought and in the majestic march of the rhythm, then I confess myself to be no judge of Latin or any other poetry.

I now come back to the Sapphic ode which Conington has selected to join the main issue on, to the manifest disadvantage of Catullus. This translation bears on its face the stamp of being one of the very earliest of his compositions; of having been written at a time when he could only adore his Lesbia at a distance. It is the translation too of a very difficult original, which would lose all its point by paraphrase and dilution. And yet surely this version has much merit; and other judges have thought better of it than Conington does. 'Nothing' says Landor, cited by Th. Martin, 'can surpass the graces of this'. However that may be, Catullus seems to have decided that the sapphic was not suited

to the genius of the Latin language, or at all events not to his own genius, and to have abandoned it altogether in favour of the phalaecian hendecasyllable which he made his own once and for ever. The 11th poem, his only other sapphic ode, was written late in his life and with *direct and meditated reference* to the 51st; and but for that earlier poem would never have been written at all. Horace took up the sapphic which Catullus had allowed to drop from his hands, cultivated it with the diligence of the Matinian bee, made it one of his most favoured metres and gave to it that easy and monotonous flow which it retained ever after. Whoever examines the too scanty remains of Sappho, will I think agree with me that Horace in his elaboration of the metre has entirely changed its character. Sappho's is a grand and mighty rhythm: Ποικιλόθρον' ἀθάνατ' Ἀφροδίτα, Παῖ Δίος, δολόπλοκε, λίσσομαί σε: Sappho meant to unite the stately march of the trochee with the majestic sweep of the dactyl; while the Greek Alcaic has, together with the dactyl, a large admixture of the more prosaic iambus. Whether Horace has or has not obtained an altogether enviable success in his transformation of the Sapphic, I will not presume to decide: manifestly he was not quite satisfied himself; and in his fourth book and his 'carmen saeculare' he has sought to introduce more variety by a greater admixture of the weak caesura; tho' he has only succeeded in increasing the stiffness without lessening the monotony of his metre. But, if we grant him any amount of credit for his elaboration of the Latin Sapphic, I affirm that, when this facility has once been gained, a very mediocre poet might chance upon the two verses, selected by Conington for praise: Dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo, Dulce loquentem.

And I for one find much more than Conington does in the sterner and more stately version of Catullus : Qui sedens aduersus identidem te Spectat et audit Dulce ridentem. He by no means shirks altogether the 'speaking': the love-intoxicated stripling has before him his 'ox-eyed' Juno; *spectat*, sees an Olympian smile stealing over her face; *audit*, hears accents worthy of a goddess falling from her parted lips.

The *identidem* of the 3rd line may have occurred to Catullus for reasons such as Conington hints at; and I would remark that its repetition in the other sapphic has a calculated reference to our ode, and is meant to point at Lesbia in her degradation, as it marks her here in her splendour. It is a grand enough word, and its rejection by the Augustan poets is quite conventional. Accius has a noble style; and his 'Scindens dolore identidem intonsam comam' is worth a good many lines of some Augustan poets¹.

¹ Whether 'Lingua sed torpet' is 'commonplace' or not, I don't know; but it is a literal translation of about the same number of words in Sappho, this part of whose ode consists of short isolated clauses; for which a competent translator must provide something of the same nature. Whether these words be or be not inferior to 'Cur facunda parum decoro Inter uerba cadit lingua silentio', such a sentence would be ridiculously out of place in Catullus' version or any version of Sappho. I scarcely know how to take Conington's 'argumentum ad inuidiam' about *eius*, and he seems to have been in some perplexity himself. As a matter of fact, Horace uses *eius*, not in a 'solitary place', but twice in his odes, and twice in his satires; Catullus has it only once in one of his lightest elegiac epigrams. Bentley, the chief critic who makes a 'tumult', objects to *eius* in the 3rd book, not because it is *eius*, but because it adds nothing to the context. The same critic commends it in the 4th book, because there it is emphatic he says. Neither in Catullus nor in the odes of Horace do we meet with *huius*: *cuius* we find once in the whole of Catullus, once in the epodes of Horace, nowhere else in his odes. Virgil employs both these words freely enough. Is it, I would ask, anything but the merest convention which makes one or other of these three words more or less displeasing than the third to a modern ear or judgment? or is Virgil wrong or right for using two of them freely, and are Catullus and Horace right or wrong for abstaining from one of these words altogether, and using the other only once? or in fact is it a law of the higher criticism that Virgil and Horace shall always be in the right, whether

To turn for a moment to that other sapphic ode : it has much of the Greek cadences, and lacks much of the Horatian flow. What the exact import may be of his commission to Furius and Aurelius, that enigmatical pair, I have never been able to make out ; but on the whole I very decidedly prefer this poem to any sapphic ode of Horace. Listen to the noble swell of many of the verses : *Litus ut longe resonante Eoa Tunditur unda... Siue trans altas gradietur Alpes, Caesaris uisens monimenta magni, Gallicum Rhenum, horribile aequor ultimosque Britannos.* How feeble, compared with this, is Horace's elegant imitation ; for he is again treading in Catullus' footprints with his '*Septimi Gades aditure mecum*'. And what is there in Horace like the pathos, worthy of Burns, which pervades the '*Qui illius culpa cecidit uelut prati Vltimi flos praetereunte postquam Tactus aratro est*'? I will not stop to compare the world-stirring movements, shadowed forth by the one poet, with the somewhat meagre and quite personal argument of the other poet.

In what has been here said, I have wished to shew, not that I love Horace less, but that I love Catullus more. I know well under what disadvantage I lie, when I attempt to controvert the terse and eloquent exposition of Conington. But I have always thought that he based this exposition on far too narrow grounds. Rightly or wrongly, I look on Catullus as the peer of Alcaeus and Sappho ; to Horace I assign a different rank.

they do or do not employ any word ; Catullus shall always be in the wrong whether he does not or does employ such word? I seem to myself to see more of humour and narrowness of judgment in Conington's onslaught on the defenceless Catullus, than in any other of his criticisms which I have read.

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